EAST AFRICAN CHIEFS

A Study of political development in some Uganda and Tanganyika Tribes

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Edited by
AUDREY I. RICHARDS

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CHISUNGU:
A Girls' Initiation Ceremony among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia

Contributors of essays and field material

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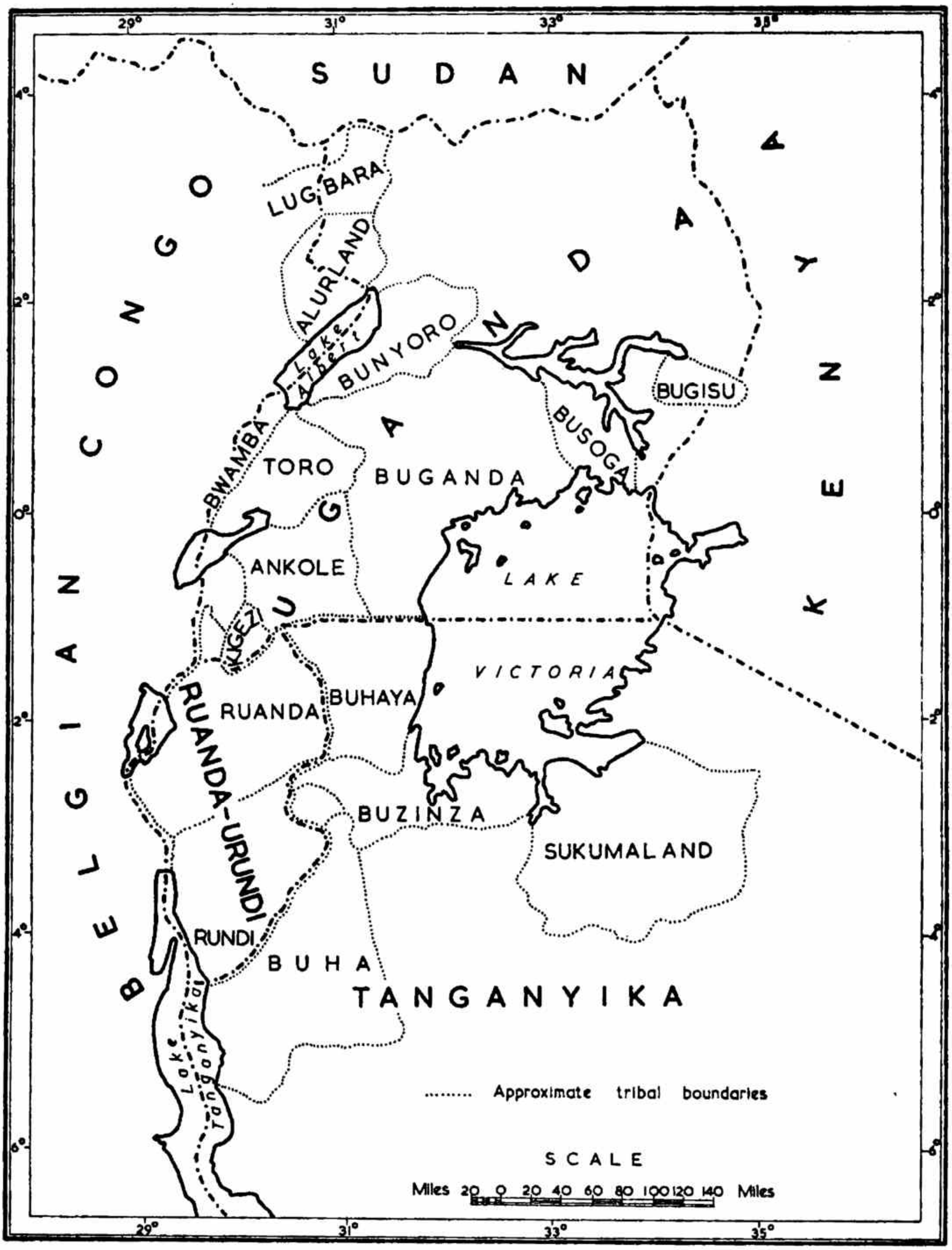
P. T. W. BAXTER
J. H. M. BEATTIE
E. M. CHILVER
L. A. FALLERS
J. LA FONTAINE
J. G. LIEBENOW
J. F. MIDDLETON
P. R. REINING
A. I. RICHARDS
J. H. SCHERER
A. W. SOUTHALL
D. J. STENNING
B. K. TAYLOR
J. W. TYLER
E. H. WINTER



Map showing territory of tribes described

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most intractable problems facing East African Governments is the business of selecting and training the officials who make up the core of their local administrations, that is to say, the administrative systems of individual tribes or groups of tribes and their various territorial sub-divisions. Within each tribe law and order is maintained, cases are judged, taxes collected and agricultural and health measures enforced by traditional authorities who have been given new functions under the British Administration. These different authorities vary in type. They include kings with long lines of descent, princes, local rulers appointed to special posts by their king or by the British Government, clan elders and district or village headmen, the latter often selected on the basis of hereditary descent. Among the Bantu peoples of East Africa the traditional authorities are often arranged in elaborate hierarchies of office and supported by councils of different types. In British Africa all these authorities, however diverse, are described as 'chiefs'.[1] Kings usually become 'paramount chiefs' in Tanganyika, and their subordinate territorial rulers 'county', 'sub-county' or 'parish' chiefs, or authorities of the first, second and third order.[2] In the kingdoms of south Uganda the territorial rulers keep their old titles as, for instance, the Kabaka of Buganda, or the Mukama of Bunyoro, and under them there are territorial administrators also known as 'chiefs'—'county', sub-county' and 'parish' chiefs. The higher chiefs include men with a secondary and even occasionally a university education, and these live as near to the European style as they can manage, preside over modern offices with clerks, accountants and a system of records, and drive round their districts by car. The lower chiefs, on the other hand, live in

[1] The term 'chief' is also used in Kenya for the executive officials introduced by the British Administration to take charge of African 'locations' among tribes, such as the Kikuyu, in which the institution of chieftainship was previously unknown.

[2] The term 'parish' is misleading, since the village or group of villages to which it refers resembles very little the unit known as a parish in this country.

traditional style, usually in wattle and daub houses, and visit the villages under their charge on foot or on battered bicycles, transmitting the orders they have received from above, usually by word of mouth. The higher chiefs are generally salaried and sometimes pensioned officials,[1] while the lowest grade work for little or no salary, animated apparently by the same incentives as were their forefathers, that is to say, a desire for honour and prestige, for the traditional perquisites they receive from their people or for the favour of their ruler. All these lower chiefs are traditionally based, except in the case of the local African authorities in Kenya. All are agents of social change and often the only agents in direct contact with the mass of the population, the villagers at the bottom of the scale.

Why is the selection of these chiefs described as a problem? Because British administrators have considered themselves to be committed to a policy of raising the standard of living of the people under their rule and of introducing something like Western types of social service. For this reason they have needed increasingly efficient local authorities; but African tribal administrations depend almost entirely on the principles of hereditary descent to office or of patronage bestowed by those in office and neither of these methods of selecting authorities necessarily produces a man who is technically competent to handle the new social services. During the period between the two world wars, the Governments of Tanganyika and Uganda were strongly committed to the policy of indirect rule, or rule through traditional authorities. To follow this policy and yet, at the same time, to raise the efficiency of tribal administrations, it was necessary to try to transform the traditional chiefs by giving them training and, above all, by controlling or influencing the type of man appointed. The present book describes some of the means by which British Administrations have tried to secure this control.

Some of the tribal systems in this region consisted of centralized kingdoms ruled by hereditary monarchs with ancient descent: Buganda, Bunyoro and Toro are examples of such monarchies. Others were multiple kingdom tribes, composed, that is, of a series of small principalities, each with its own hereditary ruler. Busoga, Buhaya, Buha, Buzinza and Busukuma were of this type, and probably also Ankole. Another group of tribes consisted of acephalous states, or segmentary societies divided into a series of

[1] In Uganda, for instance.

clans arranged in genealogical seniority and ruled by clan elders, who co-operated only for special purposes, such as warfare, blood revenge or ritual. The Gisu, the Kiga and the Lugbara fall into this category.

The hereditary rulers in East Africa sometimes succeed to their offices by the rule of primogeniture, but more often they are chosen from a number of possible heirs within a particular dynasty, and there may be elaborate traditional mechanisms for selecting the successor. Nor is the ruler the only hereditary official in such systems. The chief's near relatives may act as an inner council to guide him; and the men of his whole lineage, usually described as 'princes' in the literature, may hold territorial office as sub-chiefs or form a ruling class or caste.[1] Clan heads or hereditary nobles often have lines of descent as long as that of the king himself and may exercise political rights. The hereditary counsellors who carry out ritual duties for the king among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia are a case in point. In many of these tribal systems authority is maintained by means of an elaborate balance of power between the heads of different lineages, those of the king and of his agnatic kinsmen, and those of the clan heads, hereditary fief-holders or office-bearers at the court.

These are complex structures to use as a basis of modern local government. In order to secure local acceptance, the colonial Administrations were obliged to rely on such traditional authorities; and indeed they had no alternative cadre of trained personnel to substitute. To achieve greater efficiency and greater conformity with Western ideals of administration they had to manipulate the traditional systems as best they could.[2] Typical compromises were the following: the Government might select from among a number of possible successors to a chieftainship, a man loyal to the Administration and efficient in the European sense. This practice has been followed in some parts of Tanganyika by the introduction of a system of election of the most important hereditary chiefs, usually from names received from lower councils. This is now done in

[1] In Basutoland or among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia all the territorial rulers or district heads come from one dynasty and are called 'sons' and 'grandsons' of the king in the former tribe, or maternal nephews in the latter. In other cases only the king himself is hereditary and the district heads are appointed directly by him.

[2] Many of these complex political systems had never even been described in the years between the wars and it was difficult for administrators to be certain where the real basis of power lay in each tribe.

Buhaya, for instance. Alternatively, the Government might recognize the hereditary heir with the appointment of an educated brother or near kinsman to administer for him in matters of special concern to the Administration, or might appoint a non-royal regent for an infant prince, allowing the regent to remain in power if he were successful. This has happened in Buzinza and Buha. A third possibility was the training of the likely successors to a chieftainship, either in special schools, such as the former chiefs' school at Tabora, or by a careful choice of secondary schooling or university education for the boys likely to succeed. Another common device has been the acceptance of the traditional authority with the dilution of the tribal council with men selected by the Government or elected by the people on grounds of education or proficiency in European skills. The British Administration has sometimes succeeded by such means in securing higher territorial authorities of a civil service type, but they have usually had to rely on traditional authorities at the lower level, that of the parish chiefs or headmen, since they have had neither the money nor the personnel to do anything else. The present book gives examples of many of these compromises, of which several may exist side by side in any one tribe.

Apart from hereditary right to office, tribal authorities are often appointed on the basis of patronage. Among some of the tribes discussed in this work, conquering immigrant dynasties had established quite strongly centralized governments before the arrival of the Europeans, and kings were able to give subordinate positions to their personal followers on whom they counted for support against rival kinsmen, or against hereditary officials or nobles with their own respective spheres of authority. Among the Interlacustrine Bantu of south Uganda and the Lake province of Tanganyika, for instance, heads of established hereditary dynasties ruled through territorial officials appointed on a basis of clientage or patronage.[1] Members of the tribe who had no hereditary rights to govern attached themselves to potentates who had such power, and the history of such a people shows a struggle for influence between the princes and hereditary nobles and the men 'whom the king delighteth to honour'.

Such systems appeared at first to form a better basis for a local

[1] L. A. Fallers has called these 'client chiefs' to distinguish them from the hereditary chiefs in other Bantu societies in East Africa (see *Bantu Bureaucracy*, 1956).

government service of the European type, since chiefs were appointed on merit and not on the basis of descent and they were promoted in the traditional system from chieftainship to chieftainship, a practice which conformed to the Administration's ideal of transferable civil servant 'chiefs'. But the merits on which these client chiefs were appointed were naturally loyalty to the African ruler and ability to carry out traditional duties rather than proficiency in the newer administrative skills. Hence even among the Interlacustrine Bantu there have been signs of a struggle, either open or latent, between the central and the tribal authorities over the appointment of district chiefs. The ruler sometimes had the constitutional power to appoint, but the Administration 'advised' and the Governor of the Colony or Protectorate had overriding powers.

The traditional political units also varied immensely in size on the arrival of the European administrators. In Uganda, for instance, the Ganda themselves are reckoned at nearly a million, while the Amba number a good deal under 40,000. Some tribes were homogeneous in population with a strong sense of cohesion and long traditions of residence in one area and some were composed of discrete elements and often of immigrant groups. Many were in a state of chronic internecine warfare when they passed under German or British rule. Within the tribes the territorial subdivisions were sometimes big enough to be viable as administrative units under modern conditions and to be considered competent to control statutory courts and councils under chiefs who became salaried officials. But some of the territorial divisions were so small that the Administration considered it necessary to amalgamate one or more units so as to make possible higher salaries and thereby to attract better personnel. This book describes the process of amalgamation which has taken place, for instance, of largely autonomous clan segments into a tribal organization among the Alur or Gisu; or of tiny kingdoms into tribal federations in Busoga, Buhaya or Busukuma. It also gives instances of the process of transforming feudal domains, fiefs, royal and noble estates within the Bantu kingdoms of the area into a regular pattern of counties,[1] sub-counties and parishes. In Tanganyika the terms are chiefdom, sub-chiefdom and parish, but the Uganda names are

[1] The British Government policy envisaged the linking of these units of local government to the Central Government, but this is a subject outside the scope of this book.

used throughout for simplicity—or in the tables, chiefs of I, II and III grade. Some of these amalgamations involved the abolition of old units over which the rulers had long-established rights, and putting in new rulers who might or might not be subject to tribal sanctions.

It will be seen that after 60 years of British Protectorate in Uganda and more than 30 years of Mandate and Trust in Tanganyika, the characteristics of the traditional leader and the modern civil servant chief are often combined in a confusing way. The most usual mixture in our region is a hereditary king or paramount chief with bureaucratic middle chiefs and traditional lower ones, but the order may be varied: in Busoga, for instance, there is a new official, a 'secretary-general', elected to his office on a three-year basis, county chiefs who no longer owe their authority to their traditional rights, parish chiefs who are an innovation, and at the base of the pyramid traditional headmen. Some systems look modern but are found on analysis to be based very largely on traditional forces. Alternatively, chiefs may appear to be following the customs of their predecessors but will be found in reality to be drawn from different social classes and to be acting roles that are very unlike those of their forebears.

Such compromises were an inevitable result of the policies to which the Administrations of Uganda and Tanganyika had become committed before the war. The compromise, from the Government point of view, was that consequent on the dual aim of maintaining traditional authorities and all that was implied by the term 'indirect rule' and at the same time of securing 'efficiency' in the introduction and administration of social services. To bypass the traditional authorities was sometimes impossible, because there was no one else to do their work, and where alien officials without customary backing were actually introduced, it sometimes proved fatal to order and good government. Akpan, a Nigerian administrator who gives full weight to all the objections raised against the policy of indirect rule, nevertheless cites the women's riots of 1929 in Eastern Nigeria as an example of the results of introducing newly created 'warrant chiefs' in place of the indigenous authorities.[1] Yet the only alternative, as has often been pointed out, is to maintain traditional chiefs and to ask them to do something which they never did by tradition!

In the post-war period the Colonial Office began to advocate

[1] N. U. Akpan, *Epitaph to Indirect Rule*, 1956, chap. II.

the introduction of local government, meaning British concepts of local government, that is to say the institution, where possible, of elected local councils at the county or sub-county level, with powers over social services delegated from the Central Government. This new policy involved yet a third element, the introduction of democratic control. In fact the Secretary of State's despatch of 1947 specifically states that the administration of social services is to be local, in the sense that the people of a district are able to identify themselves with it, and that it is to be efficient and democratic.[1] The special problems involved in securing these three requisites of local government in eight of the so-called conquest states of the lake region of Uganda and Tanganyika, and in three of the very different segmentary societies of the rest of Uganda, form the main subject of this book.

The problem is not one of historic interest only. Traditional political systems have shown great vitality and they tend to become symbolic of a way of life, especially if that life is threatened. 'Nationalism' in West and East Africa has often provoked a new kind of tribalism. Regional jealousies come to the fore when self-government becomes a possibility. Freedom to the educated minority may mean the end of alien rule, but to the peasant majority it may mean the return to old and familiar institutions, and since democratic systems of election are being introduced in British colonies in Africa, it is the majority voice which will count. In such circumstances tribal leaders tend to become symbols. An African king, for instance, may come to stand for 'our' government as distinct from 'yours', or 'our' government as against a European one.

At a village and district level, too, there may be new forces making for a revitalization of traditional forms. In fact, ironically enough, the introduction of modern local government may actually lead to a strengthening of the traditional system, since the organs which are to exercise new controls over local social services are so often traditional councils with new powers and frequently an altered composition. The conferring of such new powers may actually tend to increase tribal loyalties and tribal separatism and to strengthen traditional prerogatives. Buganda, described in this book, is an area to watch in this respect, since its government has recently acquired greatly increased powers over local social services

[1] Cf. the Secretary of State's Despatch on Local Government, 1947, and discussions at the Cambridge African Conferences of 1947 and 1951.

and complete control over the appointment of its chiefs since the signing of the Buganda Agreement of 1955. Will the civil service pattern introduced by the British remain, or will there be a gradual return to more traditional methods of selecting chiefs? Where old grooves are dug deep there is a tendency for the machine to slip back into familiar channels, especially in times of emergency and tension. The problem of selecting efficient local authorities in tribal areas will probably be as difficult for an African government to solve as for a colonial power, in fact more difficult, since the former is likely to have less trained supervisory personnel and less central control.[1]

The present book was therefore devised to throw light on problems of very topical interest to African administrations and legislatures. In January 1952 anthropologists of the staff of the East African Institute of Social Research, and other research workers associated with them, met in conference at Makerere College, Kampala, and agreed on a common scheme for the comparative study of the political structure of a set of contiguous tribes in Uganda and the Lake province of Tanganyika, areas which were then being studied. L. A. Fallers, then working in Busoga, proposed the collection of career histories of chiefs at all levels in order to throw light on political change, and suitable methods of sampling were discussed. In June 1952 a group of administrators from Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika met at Makerere College with the anthropologists on the Institute staff to discuss the position of lower chiefs.[2] The discussions were lively. Forms of indigenous political structure were described and generalizations as to the effects of British policy on societies of these different types began to take shape. Later the staff of the Institute agreed to collect their case-history material by means of a common questionnaire.

It was originally decided that the career histories should be selected on the basis of a vertical sample section, that is to say that they should include the career histories of a selected county chief, all the sub-county chiefs in that county and all the parish chiefs in one sub-county. In some cases, however, the written records

[1] It must be remembered that in England central government was securely established before the local government system, as we know it, was introduced, whereas in the parts of Africa we are discussing the local, i.e. the tribal, governments are only held together by the strength of an alien rule and central legislative assemblies with very short histories.

[2] Stencilled *Report of the Conference on Minor Chiefs*, East African Institute of Social Research, 1952.

were so good and the co-operation with the tribal authorities was so full that it was possible to collect data from all the chiefs at the county and sub-county levels in one tribe. The figures finally available are as follows:

1. Buganda 167 (20 county, 128 sub-county, 19 parish chiefs).
2. Busoga 79 (8 county, 49 sub-county, 22 parish chiefs).
3. Bunyoro 88 (4 county, 25 sub-county, 41 parish chiefs, 18 headmen).
4. Toro 152 (7 county, 23 sub-county, 122 parish chiefs).
5. Ankole 201 (8 county, 50 sub-county, 75 parish chiefs, 68 headmen).
6. Buhaya 53 (8 county, 3 sub-county, 7 parish chiefs, 35 headmen).
7. Buzinza 70 (3 county, 5 sub-county, 43 parish chiefs, 19 headmen).
8. Buha 40 (6 county, 9 sub-county, 25 parish chiefs).
9. Busukuma 50 (25 county, 12 sub-county, and 13 deputy chiefs—partial information on 275 parish chiefs).
10. Bugisu 69 (3 county, 23 sub-county, 14 parish chiefs, 29 headmen).
11. Bukiga 146 (5 county, 20 sub-county, 53 parish chiefs, 68 headmen).
12. Alurland 10 (2 county, 8 sub-county chiefs).
13. Lugbara 31 (5 county, 8 sub-county, 10 parish, 8 headmen).

The total number of career histories is 1156. Most of these refer to the years 1952 and 1953.[1]

Chiefs were asked about their age, education, religion, length of service, promotion within the service, and the training they had received in other spheres such as teaching or business. They were questioned as to their descent, their royal or commoner birth, their genealogical links with other chiefs and their economic position in the community.

The sampling was often based on expediency, in spite of the plans agreed on, and it therefore leaves much to be desired. In the case of the higher chiefs (Class I and II) written data were usually available and it was possible to take a total sample. The inter-tribal

[1] Some figures were also kindly collected for Ruanda by Jacques Maquet, then Chef de Poste of the Institut de Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale at Astrida, but it was not possible to complete this material for comparative purposes.

comparisons given in chap. XV have therefore some validity, even though the total numbers were in themselves small. For the lower chiefs (Class III and IV) data had to be collected by word of mouth and the material varies greatly in completeness. The inter-tribal comparisons based on these figures must therefore be viewed with great caution. Nevertheless such a collection of life-histories of tribal authorities does not seem to have been made before and it gives some clear indications of the nature of present-day trends.

Each essay opens with a background account of the geographical environment of the tribe concerned, its economic potentialities, its population density and composition. There follows a description of the traditional political system, that is to say the central government, if any; the size of the territorial units; the bases of selection of the ruler and his subordinate officers at the centre and in the different districts into which the tribal area was divided; and the functions of these territorial officials and of other men exercising leadership in the society. Each essay also contains an outline of the changes introduced by the British Administration in the size of the territorial units and in the method of selecting and training their chiefs. The career histories of present-day chiefs show the type of man who is now entering the administrative service of his tribe, whether he is traditionally based, or appointed or elected for his administrative competence; whether he is educated or illiterate, rich or poor, of royal birth or a commoner.

The descriptions of tribal structure that are given are necessarily superficial. This is inevitable in a book which deals on a comparative basis with a single administrative problem in the setting of fourteen different tribes. Detailed analyses of the political systems of each separate culture will in each case be published by the anthropologist who has been working on the area concerned. Monographs by L. A. Fallers, E. H. Winter and A. W. Southall on Busoga, Bwamba and Alurland respectively have in fact already appeared.[1] In particular, very detailed material on Buganda will be published in a forthcoming study of leadership in this interesting tribe.[2] The present book is an experiment in comparative work

[1] L. A. Fallers, op. cit., 1956; E. H. Winter, *Bwamba*, 1956; A. W. Southall, *Alur Society*, 1956.

[2] By the East African Institute of Social Research under the direction of L. A. Fallers. The scheme has had generous support from the Carnegie Corporation.

on a common scheme carried out in a number of contiguous tribes.

The book was planned to throw light on administrative problems, but most of the authors are anthropologists rather than experts in local government, colonial administration or political science, and attention has therefore been focused on the differences in tribal structure with which social anthropologists are so largely concerned. There are interesting variations, for instance, between the reactions to British local government policies of tribes which are single kingdoms, those which are multi-kingdom tribes, or segmentary societies, and one which is a 'segmentary state', to use the term coined by Southall for the Alur.[1] Generalizations on the effect of different types of land tenure on the emergent political systems of East African peoples can also be made on the basis of the material.

The book includes an essay by a political scientist (J. G. Liebenow) and by an historian (E. M. Chilver), and the constitutional development of the selected tribes provides some interesting parallels with the history of pre-feudal and feudal societies in Europe. The system of landholding in return for military or other services is one such field of comparison, and the struggle for power between monarchs and hereditary nobles is another. The problems involved in the growth of a civil service is a third. However inexact the parallels, many of them are stimulating to the anthropologist and it is hoped that they will also interest political scientists and historians.

Finally it should be explained that the book is in every sense of the words a joint effort. L. A. Fallers stimulated much of the work by his interest in Weber's theories as to the evolution of true bureaucracies from patrimonial systems of authority. The importance of his contribution will be realized at once by readers of his *Bantu Bureaucracy*. The experiments he made in the collection of career histories in Busoga certainly paved the way for this comparative study.

We had co-operation not only from members of the East African Institute of Social Research (L. A. Fallers, J. La Fontaine, P. Reining, A. W. Southall, D. Stenning and J. W. Tyler) but also from other scholars working in the area at the same time, that is to say, P. T. W. Baxter (Colonial Social Science Research Council), J. H. M. Beattie (Scarborough grant), J. G. Liebenow (American

[1] A. W. Southall, op. cit., 1956.

Social Science Research Council), J. F. M. Middleton (Goldsmiths' Company grant and Colonial Social Research Council), J. H. Scherer (Dutch Government scholar), B. K. Taylor (Colonial Social Science Research Council) and E. H. Winter (Colonial Social Science Research Council). Some of the chapters on individual tribes were written by the field-workers themselves while others were drafted by the editor or J. La Fontaine. Authorship is indicated by a footnote in each case. The introduction and general chapters I and XV were contributed by the editor. G. M. Teoh, then attached to the Institute of Statistics of Oxford University, did a number of tests on the statistical material and some further tests were done by M. Southwold.

As an experiment in the comparative study of political development we are aware that our work lacks precision. Some of our difficulties were of a practical kind such as are usually associated with team-work under African conditions. The field-workers were too widely dispersed to make frequent meetings possible and in fact the project was discussed at only two conferences, as already described. Some of the contributors were present at these meetings while others volunteered to work on the scheme later. All the field-workers began and ended their tours at different times and during their leave they were scattered in various universities, and sometimes in different countries. In these circumstances it was difficult to organize the collection of strictly comparable data from each tribe in spite of continuous correspondence and the circulation of questionnaires.

Some of the technical difficulties might have been overcome if the work had been a major project of the East African Institute of Social Research instead of being a by-product, so to speak, of more general ethnographic studies. Field-workers could then have spent a preliminary year working on an outline study of the cultures selected and this could have been followed by a prolonged period of joint discussion on the theoretical issues that had come to light in the region and on the special field techniques which seemed suitable in the light of the preliminary experience. Such a special project would however have absorbed all the financial resources of the Institute whereas the present scheme involved no extra finance beyond the cost of the administrative and secretarial work, since the research fellows were already in the field working on problems of their own choice. The study was in fact intended as an experiment in a type of regional research which might prove

specially suited to a local research institute such as the East African Institute of Social Research.[1]

As an experiment in comparative work it must be reckoned as midway between the type of structural comparisons achieved in such books as *African Political Systems* edited by E. E. Evans-Pritchard and M. Fortes (1940), *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, edited by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde (1950), and *African Worlds*, edited by Daryll Forde (1954), in which a group of writers contributed cssays on a general topic such as political structure, kinship or religion with little or no joint discussion by the contributors; and the more precise comparisons which might be produced by a team of research workers concentrated for two or three years on the study of a single problem narrowly defined after joint discussion and common agreement as to the collection and presentation of data.

Linguistic Note

Vernacular terms have been used as little as possible, but for the sake of local residents in the districts described it was thought useful to give the terms for the most important types of chiefs and the major political units in the language of the people concerned. This has also been done when the terms are difficult to translate.

The use of vernacular terms in Bantu languages always causes some difficulty for the general reader since in this group of languages a variety of prefixes are used for nouns of different classes and in particular to distinguish singular and plural. For instance *mu* (or *omu*) indicates a single person, and *ba* (or *aba*) a group of persons, e.g. *muntu* (a person), *bantu* (people); and *Muganda* (a member of the Ganda tribe) and *Baganda* (the tribe itself). In the case of tribal names the prefix has been omitted following the convention of the International African Institute, although it has been kept for the country and the language. Hence we speak of a Ganda or 'the Ganda', instead of *Muganda* and *Baganda* respectively, and Buganda, the country of the Ganda and Luganda, their language.[2] In the case of other nouns the singular and plural forms are given in the first instance but not afterwards. The initial vowel *o* or *a* and the equivalent forms for other noun classes are omitted in every case since the rules for their use are complex.

[1] See *East African Institute of Social Research, 1950–53. A Report on Three Years' Work*, 1954.

[2] In the languages used by the western group of Interlacustrine tribes, e.g. the Nyoro, Toro, Nyankole and Ruanda the R takes the place of the L and we speak of Runyoro, Rutoro, etc. as their languages.

The Interlacustrine Bantu

Chapter I

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The first eight tribes discussed belong to that group of Bantu peoples whom Seligman originally described as the 'Lacustrians' because they are 'grouped round the shores of Lake Victoria and Lake Albert'.[1] He included under this heading the Ganda, the Nyoro, the Nyankole and the inhabitants of Karagwe, the latter now reckoned one of the chiefdoms of Buhaya. These were tribes which had become familiar to the English-speaking world through the work of Speke and Stanley and, later, the monographs of Roscoe.[2] Seligman also included among the Lacustrians the Ruanda, east of Lake Kivu; the Rundi, north of Lake Tanganyika; the Sukuma, south of Lake Victoria; and the Nyamwezi, east of Lake Tanganyika.

These Bantu peoples of south Uganda, north-west Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi are now usually described as the Interlacustrine Bantu, as they live between the great lakes, Victoria, Kyoga, Albert, George, Edward and Kivu, rather than necessarily on their shores. The term now covers the Ganda, Soga, Nyoro, Toro and Nyankole, in Uganda; the Ha, Haya and Zinza in Tanganyika; and the Ruanda and Rundi in Ruanda-Urundi.[3] The Sukuma and Nyamwezi are not now usually included in this group. The political institutions of the Ganda, Soga, Nyoro, Toro, Nyankole, Ha, Haya and Zinza are discussed in this book.

These peoples of Uganda, Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi are

[1] C. G. Seligman, *Races of Africa*, 1930, pp. 185 and 213. The new edition (1957) gives 'Interlacustrine'. German anthropologists used *Zwischenseengebiet* before 1914.

[2] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, 1911; *The Banyankole*, 1923; *The Bakitara or Banyoro*, 1923, and others.

[3] I. Schapera, 'A Working Classification of the Bantu', *Man*, 1929; and H. Meinhard, 'Provisional Outline of the Ethnographical Provinces of East Africa' (typescript), 1947.

linguistically akin. Luganda and Lusoga fall into one group, while Runyoro, Rutoro, Luhaya and Luzinza form a second, and the languages of the Ruanda, Rundi and Ha fall into a third.

These tribes were initially grouped together, however, on the basis of their political organization. Their powerful kings and stockaded palaces struck early European travellers at the latter half of the nineteenth century. The best-known of these peoples, the Ganda and Nyoro, had formed kingdoms under hereditary monarchs when Speke visited this region in 1862; the other tribes, that is to say, the Soga, Haya, Zinza and Ha, were organized in a series of similar but tiny kingdoms of which the rulers were often connected by blood ties. Ankole, as we now know it, was formed by the amalgamation of kingdoms by the Agreement of 1901. In the case of these multi-kingdom tribes, each of the rulers was a kinglet with his own royal palace who was acknowledged the head of his own small state.

The Interlacustrine kingdoms were presumed at first to have been formed by the conquest of indigenous peoples by invaders from the north or north-east, described as 'Hamitic pastoralists'. Speke believed that the ruling dynasties of Karagwe, Ankole, Bunyoro and Buganda were of Galla origin because of the similarities he found between the peoples of the lake area and the Galla through whose country he had passed earlier in his travels. He told Mutesa, then king of Buganda, that his ancestors came from Abyssinia. Johnston, Stanley, Roscoe and other European travellers accepted Speke's views and added other evidence from the fields of linguistics, material culture and social organization, to prove that the Interlacustrine kingdoms owed their superior political organization to the 'Hamitic' groups to be found in these states in positions of leadership or high status, that is, the Tusi in Ruanda and Buha, the Huma[1] in Bunyoro, Buhaya and Buzinza, and the Hima in Ankole. These people were believed to be immigrants of Caucasoid stock who had conquered the indigenous 'Bantu' agriculturalists whom they thenceforth treated as an inferior caste. The Iru of Bunyoro, Toro, Ankole, Buhaya and Buzinza, and the Hutu of Ruanda, are still distinguished as separate elements in their respective populations and were thought to be descendants of the original Bantu inhabitants. Where there was no distinction between the two elements, as in Buganda and Busoga, Roscoe assumed that these peoples had once been divided into a dominant

[1] More commonly referred to in the literature on Uganda as 'Hima'.

Hamitic pastoral group and a servile Negro peasant group but that the distinction had since been obliterated.

The nineteenth-century travellers to the great lakes region based their conclusions on the following facts: first they came across wandering bands of cattle-herders known as Hima in Ankole and as Huma among the Haya and Zinza. These peoples had physical features which were distinct from those of the mass of the Bantu population, for instance, a red-brown skin, a long face, aquiline nose, thin lips and slender bones. They were the 'Bohooma' described by Samuel Baker in 1872 as 'direct descendants of the Gallas', light in colour, following their stock from place to place, usually attached to a nobleman whose cattle they herded.[1] Since they lived apart, and for the most part kept taboos on intermarriage with other groups, the physical type remained distinct. Cunningham described them in 1905 as thin, wiry, languid, graceful, gentle and submissive in manner.[2] Similar groups of Hima pastoralists exist today in Buzinza and Toro, and there are individual families of the same physical and cultural type in Buganda, but they remain outside the political structure of the tribe with which they live and they have a lowly status, as they evidently did in the days of Speke. They herded long-horned cattle similar to those of ancient Egypt such as are found today in south Somali and parts of Abyssinia, Ovambo in South Africa and in the north of Sierra Leone and along the Niger.[3]

Of the same physical type as these light-skinned, long-faced Hima cattle-herders were the ruling dynasties of Ruanda, Rundi and Buha, known as the Tusi, as well as the rulers of Ankole. These aristocratic Hima were also forbidden to intermarry with the peasants beneath them, whether Iru or Hutu; there were, at any rate, taboos on the marriage of Hima women of the royal lines with Iru men.

The Hima ruling dynasties in Ruanda, Ankole, Bunyoro and Toro were associated with cattle cults centred at the royal palace, taboos on the simultaneous eating of meat and vegetables and the use of wooden milk pots; in Ruanda and Ankole other correlated traits were decorative designs on huts, Egyptian harps and the working of iron. These and other traits were thought to indicate original connections with pre-dynastic Egypt. Palace ritual

[1] S. Baker, *Ismailia*, 1785, vol. II, p. 149.

[2] J. F. Cunningham, *Uganda and its Peoples*, 1905, p. 21.

[3] Cf. H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, p. 624.

associated with cattle was less marked in Buhaya, Buzinza and Buha.

The distinctions between the two groups varied from area to area. In Ankole, Stenning describes an original symbiotic relationship between Iru and Hima by which the former provided agricultural produce and iron work for weapons, as well as acting as diviners and magicians. Iru attached themselves to pastoral overlords who gave them military protection in return.[1] By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, Hima or Tusi were occupying all the dominant political offices in Ankole and Ruanda, including the kingship, although other Hima groups still preferred to wander about the country as the nomadic herdsmen described by Speke.

The term 'caste' has been widely used to describe the different strata of the population among the lake peoples and in fact Meinhard evidently considers that the presence of a dominant Hima aristocracy is a diagnostic feature for the Interlacustrine Bantu.[2] If taboos on intermarriage are an essential characteristic of caste systems there are difficulties, since the prohibitions are now little regarded. Even in the old days men could marry beneath them: Ankole kings could marry Iru women, for instance, and in Buzinza Hima men could do the same. Haya kings could raise Iru clans to Hima status, and in Buhaya, Buha and Buzinza there were mixed clans. Occupationally, too, the distinctions were not rigid. Hima and Tusi were pastoralists, but they gave out cattle to Iru or Hutu to be herded and the latter could gradually build up small herds. Nevertheless we have found it difficult to think of a more useful term than caste. Maquet, who discusses the matter fully, evidently feels the same.[3]

Besides the royal Hima dynasties acting as overlords in the western kingdoms and the wandering Hima cattle-herders, Roscoe remarked on the presence of Hima clans, as distinct from Iru clans. He lists them carefully in the case of Bunyoro and Ankole.[4] Cory also distinguishes them in his very full lists of Haya clans.[5] In every case the Hima clans were described as having higher

[1] See also J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, 1954, chap. VI.

[2] He excludes the Nyamwezi from the group, partly on the grounds that the Tusi are here 'tolerated minorities' rather than rulers (MS in the possession of the International African Institute), 1945.

[3] J. Maquet, op. cit., pp. 158–60.

[4] J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara or Banyoro*, 1923, chap. II; *The Banyankole*, 1923.

[5] H. Cory and M. Hartnoll, *Customary Law of the Haya Tribe*, 1945.

prestige than those of the Iru. Roscoe's information on Hima clans has been queried by subsequent investigators, and the distinction is anyhow not clear-cut, since Haya kings could, as mentioned above, raise Iru clans to Hima status.

This was the evidence for the hypothesis that Hamitic conquerors superimposed upon indigenous Negro populations in East Africa resulted in the Interlacustrine kingdoms we know today. Some earlier writers seem even to have believed that highly developed political organizations such as those found in this region, could only have been due to Caucasian influence.[1] We now know that the situation is much more complex than first assumed. The fertile country between the great lakes seems to have been invaded by a series of peoples of different origin, some of them light-skinned pastoralists of a Hamitic type with a material culture which shows some resemblances to that of ancient Egypt. Nyoro tradition, for instance, describes at least three dynasties, the Tembuzi, who were followed by the miraculous Chwezi kings who are said to have brought arts, ritual and new forms of government with them, only to be succeeded by the present Bito dynasty. The Bito, who have provided the ruling dynasties of Bunyoro, northern Busoga and Buganda, are of Nilotic (Lwoo) origin and according to the legends of the Haya their chief ruling dynasty, the Hinda, is also descended from these Bito invaders.[2] The ruling dynasties of most of the Zinza are also Hinda. Hence the rulers in five out of our eight tribes cannot be assumed to be Hamitic at all. A Nyoro historian describes how the Bito who usurped the throne of the Chwezi kings in Bunyoro had to learn the milk and meat taboos, and presumably the royal dairy ritual, from their predecessors,[3] and the Zinza legend mentioned on p. 199 represents the ancestor of this tribe, Ruhinda, as finding milk disgusting till adversity accustomed him to its use.

In fact Hima (Huma) were dominant only in Ankole, Karagwe, Ruanda and Urundi at the time of Speke's arrival and these were the areas in which they formed quasi-endogamous groups. Hima clans, however, occupied an honoured position in Bunyoro, Toro

[1] Cf. M. Merkers' attempts to prove that the Masai were of Semitic origin (*Die Masai*, 1910).

[2] See K. W., 'The Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara', *Uganda Journal*, vols. III, IV, V, 1935–6–7; also L. A. Fallers, *Bantu Bureaucracy*, 1956, chap. I for an interesting analysis of the position as revealed by recent research; also A. W. Southall, *Alur Society*, 1956.

[3] Cf. Petero Bikunya, *Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro*, 1927, chap. XI.

and Buhaya, where they intermarried with Bito though not with Iru, and in most of the region we are dealing with it would be more accurate to speak of a three- or even four-caste system than a double one. In Buhaya and Buzinza, for instance, there were two aristocracies—the ruling Hinda, traditionally of Nilotic origin, and the Huma. The Iru ranked below both of these groups. In Ruanda the Tusi, with characteristics common to those of the Hima, ruled over Hutu peasants and Twa pygmies. In Bunyoro and Toro the ruling dynasty was also of Nilotic origin, as we have seen, but Hima held high social status[1] and provided wives for the Bito kings and princes. In most of these tribes some Hima had become clients, vassals or mere favourites of the king and hence had become wealthy and involved in state affairs. (This is a process specifically described by Stenning in Ankole.) Others remained wandering herdsmen moving in and out of tribal areas.

A further source of confusion is the fact that outsiders seem to have used the term Hima for any dominant aristocracy or ruling dynasty. In Buzinza we are told that members of other kingdoms called a ruler 'Hima' whereas his own subjects gave his proper dynasty and clan. Some European observers evidently do the same. The fact that Haya kings could promote Iru clans to Hima (Huma) status shows how far the terms Hima or Huma became identified with a high social position.

The order of arrival of these different waves of immigrants is not yet established. Tribal traditions of the different Interlacustrine peoples mostly begin with a reference to a period of history in which there were no kings, but 'only clans'. The first kings described are God-like creatures who descend from heaven, as one version of the Ganda 'Kintu' legend postulates, or who go into the underworld as Isaza of Bunyoro is said to have done. The story of the sudden appearance of the Chwezi kings and their equally mysterious disappearance, after three or four generations, is told in Bunyoro, Toro, Ankole and Buhaya, and all these territories are described as having been part of one Chwezi Empire. Modern authorities differ as to the origin of the Chwezi and the identity of the Tusi, Hima or Huma,[2] and the situation is confused by the fact that

[1] R. B. Fisher, *Twilight Tales of the Black Baganda*, p. 37, says of a court ceremony in Bunyoro: 'First came the herdsmen—as they always held first rank.'

[2] Father Crazzolara believes the Chwezi to have been of Nilotic Lwoo origin. Roland Oliver identifies them with the Tusi of Ruanda-Urundi. Nyoro tradition states that they formed a separate invasion after the Tembuzi.

each separate tribal tradition postulates agnatic or affinal links between one immigrant dynasty and the next, thus assuming a continuity of succession which is most unlikely to have existed. Reference has already been made to the fact that the Bito kings of Bunyoro are said to have had to learn to keep the milk taboos of their pastoral predecessors. The legend of direct succession acts as charter for the exercise of power by the present line of kings, and tales of the common origin of the different tribes, however mythical they may be, express the belief of the Interlacustrine Bantu that they are closely akin, at any rate more closely related than other ethnic groups in the region.[1] It is interesting that Ganda, Nyoro, Toro, Nyankole and Soga of today despise the Nilotic tribes to the north, although their ruling dynasties seem to be of Bito (Lwoo-speaking) origin.

This is not the place to discuss the pros and cons of such hypotheses. From the point of view of these essays, the historical traditions are important in so far as they account for the existence of a series of political structures formed by the conquest of indigenous inhabitants of the lake basin by a succession of ruling dynasties. Some at least of these were of the physical and cultural type now described as 'Hamitic', and these are still acknowledged as rulers among the western peoples, the Ruanda, the Rundi, the Nyankole and the Ha; they form an honoured and mainly endogamous caste among the Haya and the Zinza; and they still exist as scattered groups of nomadic herdsmen in many places. These Hamitic invaders, together with other intruders who were Nilotic and probably Lwoo-speaking, such as the Bito, seem to have come in small bands without large armies or efficient administrative machinery and to have usurped 'thrones' rather than defeated whole peoples. The pattern of conquest evidently varied. Southall gives an interesting description of the Alur method of domination by which chiefs who had become powerful sent out their sons as princes to keep the peace among local groups of Alur or subject peoples, such as the Okebo or Lendu. These princes were often sent at the request of the local group since they were thought to bring protection, fame and successful rain magic.[2] Southall suggests that Bito invaders of what is now Bunyoro, extended their conquests

[1] It is common for tribal legends to describe the original or most important ancestor as having given birth to several children who became rulers of the neighbouring tribes.

[2] A. W. Southall, op. cit., 1956.

in the same way. Haya history, as summarized by H. Cory from his own research and from district note-books in Bukoba and elsewhere, reveals a similar process by which Ruhinda, a prince of Bito origin, broke off from Bunyoro-Kitara to the north and secured a precarious hold over the territories now known as Buhaya, Buzinza and Busubi by placing his sons to rule as his deputies over each new district. Cory gives the history of eight such small princedoms. There is even evidence from recent Zinza history that it was a ruler's duty to divide up territory among his sons, so that a process of fragmentation went on. For instance, when the Buchosa ruler over Bukara died in 1905, the Germans recognized his son, Mutatembwa, as his successor, but the late king had himself divided his territory between his different sons with Mutatembwa as the chief heir, and these sons continued to be acknowledged by the people though not by the Administration.[1]

Throughout the whole Interlacustrine area the sons who became princes over sub-districts showed a tendency to assert their independence and even to rebel against their fathers, forming separate states in what are here called multi-kingdom tribes. Princes ruling over separate districts often continued to send tribute to their father, and to attend his court on important ritual occasions. They did not claim full independence till their father was dead. Kaboyo, the rebel prince of Toro in the nineteenth century, successfully established his own state but refused to be addressed by the kingly titles until his father died (see p. 132).

A second process in the establishment of the power of the ruling dynasty throughout the area seems to have been the appointment by the king of territorial governors from among his own favourites and supporters—'appointed' as against hereditary chiefs. Fallers uses the term 'client chief' for the man who has received a chiefdom from the ruler or the district governor immediately above him, and he does this in order to distinguish such officials from the hereditary chiefs who are more common in Bantu societies;[2] but since clientship in the sense of a personal economic and political relationship between a man and his superior exists in this group, particularly in Ruanda, Buhaya and Buha, where there is a special form of cattle clientship between an inferior who receives cattle from a superior in return for protection, Fallers' usage may prove

[1] P. H. Van Thiel, 'Buzinza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda', *Anthropos* vol. VI, 1911.

[2] L. A. Fallers, op. cit., 1956.

confusing in the present context.[1] We have, therefore, used 'appointed chief' in distinction to hereditary chief, instead of 'client chief'.

Appointed chiefs were men chosen by the ruler on account of their services as successful warriors, as loyal courtiers or as personal favourites, rather than as royal relatives or heads of clans. The royal princes, or the hereditary clan or lineage heads, gradually lost power to the appointed chiefs, as will be seen from these essays. The history of Buganda and Bunyoro is very clear on this point. Positions were progressively filled by 'king's men' rather than by lineal descendants of the previous ruler. The power of the king's administrative lords increased and that of the princes of the blood diminished until thc middle of the nineteenth century when, in Buganda at any rate, the princes of direct descent were actually slaughtered at a new king's coming to the throne. In the other tribes in which government was less centralized, princes held varying positions of power, but always seem to have been objects of suspicion to their ruler and to have been liable to murder or exile to a distant district. The centralized forms of government attained in the Uganda kingdoms (Buganda and Bunyoro) may have been attained by just such a ruthless extermination of princes of the blood. It is anyhow significant that the histories of Buhaya, Buzinza and Buha, which remain multi-kingdom tribes, are full of stories of fratricidal strife, whereas those of Buganda emphasize the sole power of the king.

The struggle between the king's appointees and the hereditary clan heads and nobles is characteristic of this group of conquest states and the 'appointed chiefs' or king's governors and their deputies form a class of territorial rulers which is uncommon in other parts of Bantu Africa. The king's chief was appointed at the will of the ruler and could be dismissed equally abruptly. Once appointed, he administered justice, collected tribute for the king and recruited soldiers. He secured a proportion of the tax or tribute for himself and had the right to appoint his supporters to junior administrative posts under him. His position was, however, insecure in the extreme, since he depended entirely on the favour of his king. He sometimes managed to pass on his office to his heir and always tried to do so, but his king was on the watch to prevent

[1] Cf. J. Maquet, op. cit., chap. VI, where he quotes Kagamé as using the term 'contrat de servage pastoral' for this relation (A. Kagamé, *Le code des institutions politiques du Ruanda précolonial*, 1952, p. 18).

this happening.[1] Where the ruler was powerful, he tended to appoint his own governors and to give out fiefs and benefices of different kinds.

Clan leaders, however, did not disappear in this area. It is in fact characteristic of the Interlacustrine Bantu that the clan authorities at different levels survive as separate authorities with their own sphere of jurisdiction—often the settlement of inheritance and succession cases—or their own special duties such as ritual functions at court or village control. This is the case in Buganda, Toro, Busoga and Buhaya, at any rate.

The territorial or district governors similarly appointed their own followers as deputies to rule over smaller units and had bailiffs on their own estates, and the same system of patronage continued down to the smallest local group, the villages or the assemblage of households which formed a 'hillside'. In areas where cattle were important assets, a king had his pastoral clients or vassals, often placed on the borders to protect the tribal stock and to add to it, as well as his agricultural clients, usually Iru. An important territorial governor might follow the same arrangement.

It is difficult to evolve an exact terminology for the rulers of this area and their assistants and office-bearers. European travellers called them all 'chiefs' except if they seemed to be in positions of absolute power, as in Buganda, and here Speke and others used the term 'king'. The administrators in the new African Local Government are called chiefs, however different their functions from those of the clan leaders, territorial rulers or benefice-holders of the past. We have, therefore, thought it better to keep the word 'chief' for the officials of post-European days.

We use the term 'king' or 'ruler' for the acknowledged head of a centralized government, however small. We thus speak of a king of Buganda in pre-European days and of a king or kinglet of one of the tiny kingdoms that formed what is now Busoga, Buhaya or Buzinza. Members of the royal dynasty are described as 'princes' and 'princesses', with a distinction usually made by the people themselves as to princes of agnatic or of collateral descent. We use the term 'governor' for the administrative head of a district appointed by the king to rule an area for him, and sub- or assistant-

[1] Hereditary lordships seem to have been the ideal in Buzinza although in practice the rulers frequently managed to get their own nominees appointed. In Bunyoro, Toro and Busoga there were a number of such offices; in Buganda the situation was very complex, as will be seen.

governor for those appointed by the ruler or the governor to be in administrative charge of sub-districts. The collection of tax and the settlement of disputes and the raising of soldiers were some of the most important duties included under the term 'administrative'.

Men given estates in return for political and military services to the king are described as 'fief-holders' as well as those who had specific duties such as collecting firewood, herding cattle or making barkcloth for the king. Those given special privileges on estates are called 'benefice-holders', and those in charge of the personal estates of a king or governor 'bailiffs'. Where a fief-holder has managed to secure hereditary succession, he is described as a 'noble' or 'lord'.

The political structure of these tribes had some resemblance to the pre-feudal polities of Europe, and this is a point discussed by Chilver in a later chapter. Indeed there are few ways in which a king without an organized army or executive officers can control a gradually extending empire except by handing out territory to be administered by the men whom he can best trust—his brothers, sons or faithful followers—and by trying as well as he can to keep control of those distant territorial governors.

As is to be expected in the case of such conquest states, the allocation of political office was closely associated with the need to organize for war. Ganda chiefs raised levies for their king and competed for the right to lead a military expedition which, if successful, brought booty and further political advancement. In Ankole the king chose his territorial heads from the leaders of war-bands, who were mobile because they drove their cattle with them. They were divided into forces of defence, along the borders, and of attack. The principal relation between the king and his pastoral Hima lords was a military one and the ruler was originally a judge, a divider of war-booty and one who fixed compensation and blood revenge for 'an association of freemen banded together for defence and the enlargement of property' (p. 152). The Nyoro and Ganda were also organized for war and the king's administrators, benefice- or fief-holders owed him the duty of fighting for him.

The institution of kingship is another characteristic feature of the political systems under review. Royal dynasties trace long lines of descent, real or fictitious. The king of Buganda comes of a reputed line of 34 ancestors; the Ruanda monarchs claim to be

descended from 40 predecessors and the Nyoro from 45.[1] With kingship is associated the possession of royal drums.

It is doubtful whether the kings of these tribes can be reckoned as 'divine' in the Frazerian sense. Certainly the rulers of Ruanda, Bunyoro and Ankole claimed that their ancestors came from heaven or from beneath the earth and, according to one version, Kintu, said to be the first king of the Ganda, fell from heaven or went to heaven, whence he got a wife. A belief in the supernatural powers of the king and his effect on fertility is not very specifically described for each tribe, but maimed rulers were not allowed to succeed in Bunyoro, Ankole, Buganda, Buhaya and Buzinza, and kings were poisoned or strangled when their physical powers were fading in Ankole and Bunyoro and probably elsewhere. The Nyoro and Nyankole kings were thought to 'turn over the land' by turning in bed at night. Roscoe's account of the ceremonial life of the Nyoro king associated with a sacred dairy and the ritual herding of cattle and the drinking of milk at daily ceremonies shows how much the monarchs of this tribe were believed to have magic influence over the welfare of men and cattle.[2]

The Interlacustrine kings are not priests of an ancestral cult in the way that southern Bantu chiefs are. As is perhaps natural with conquering immigrant tribes, shrines to earlier culture-heroes are more in evidence than those to the king's own ancestors. Examples are the *lubale* shrines to Sesse Island chiefs in Buganda and similar shrines to Chwezi kings elsewhere. Kings are associated in one way or another with these national shrines. Yet throughout the region the graves of kings are honoured, and in Buganda the cult centred on huts built on the village site of a departed ruler is particularly elaborate. Kings everywhere had sacred regalia, such as drums and spears. They were the central figures in the new moon ceremonies carried out in Buganda, Bunyoro, Toro, Ankole, Karagwe and the other kingdoms of what are now Buhaya and Buzinza.

Another distinguishing feature of these people, and one that is closely related to their political structure, is the method by which land was commonly held. Shifting cultivation is not necessary in the fertile lake-shore region; the staple food of most of the tribes discussed is the plantain and this is a crop which can be grown for

[1] J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara or Banyoro*, 1923, pp. 87–8; K. W. in *Uganda Journal*, vol. III, 2, 1935, pp. 155–8.

[2] J. Roscoe, op. cit.

many years in one garden.[1] In much of Northern Rhodesia and Tanganyika, by contrast, cultivation is of the shifting slash-and-burn type. Here land is given out by local headmen with temporary rights of cultivation for a few years. The gardens are then allowed to revert to bush and the whole village moves, sometimes within four or five years, to a new site. In such tribes, the chief was said to own the whole land and he could demand tribute by virtue of this right. He appointed the political authorities under him, with local headmen who allocated cultivation rights. The ruler, however, did not, as in Buganda, Bunyoro, Busoga or Buhaya, give out estates to followers or relatives—estates which were inhabited by tenants who performed services for their lords and might remain in possession for some generations. This right of giving out personal estates, fiefs or benefices has been zealously guarded by the Interlacustrine rulers under modern conditions and has been one of the most important sources of conflict between the kings or chiefs and the British Administration.

The concept of permanent settlement has made the development of peasant farming easy over most of the area. The different policies as to landholding followed by the Governments of Uganda and Tanganyika in their different tribal areas will be indicated in the following essays.

There are special advantages and disadvantages in political systems of the Interlacustrine type from the point of view of a British administrator. Tribal structures that are highly centralized are easy to control in the first instance. Where traditional kings have reached an unchallenged position, as they had in Ruanda, Buganda, Bunyoro and Ankole at the end of the nineteenth century, authority is accepted by the people. Where there is a hierarchy of officials with determinate duties it is easy to allot responsibility and to secure the quick dissemination of administrative orders from above. The speed with which cotton was introduced into south Uganda is a case in point.

The system by which the rulers of the Interlacustrine Bantu had acquired the right of appointing and dismissing their district administrators on a patronage basis also had initial advantages, since it was easy for the British to secure influence and even control

[1] It is not known exactly for how many years plantains can be grown in one plot, but with the use of a fallow system, which was possible when the population was less dense, the period must have been considerable. Some areas in Buganda are known to have been under cultivation for at least 300 years.

over the appointment of chiefs and to introduce the ideas and practices of a western type of civil service selected and trained for efficiency. Transferable chiefs are more easily converted into mobile civil servants than are locally based hereditary rulers. However, the values associated with clientage die hard and the changes have sometimes been more apparent than real. The mixture of traditional and modern factors involved in the appointment of the present-day chief among the Interlacustrine peoples will be indicated here.

The introduction of democratic systems of election in councils and other bodies is also bound to be more disruptive in the case of tribal structures in which authority is derived entirely from the top, and there are no independent local leaders or councils. The efforts of the Government to 'democratize' the governments of the Interlacustrine Bantu are also discussed.

The administrator who sets out to modernize African local government has also special problems to deal with in areas with ruling dynasties of long standing and kings with ritual powers. As agents or tools of the Government these greatly facilitate reforms: as opponents they naturally tend to become symbols of tribal nationalism and hence of separatism, and the one stage passes quickly into the other. The administrative problems of the monarchies of the Interlacustrine Bantu have been dealt with somewhat differently in the different areas and these varying policies will be indicated.

To conclude, it is interesting to note that the people of this group consider that they are famous for their monarchies and they refer scornfully to their northern neighbours as being without kingship. Buganda and Bunyoro raided each other and their neighbours for several centuries, but all the Interlacustrine Bantu believed in the principle of kingship and in monarchies of a particular type. By their kings they were also linked through intermarriages, alliances, joint raids and the exchange of visits and gifts. Each capital seems to have acted as an asylum for refugees from the cruelty of the kings of neighbouring states. It is impossible to read of the travels of Speke or Stanley without realizing that the Interlacustrine Bantu of their day formed a culture area of a special type.

Chapter II

THE GANDA[1]

Buganda is the first of the Interlacustrine states to be described in this book, although it is unlikely that it was the first of these kingdoms to establish a separate identity.[2] The political structure of Buganda does not show all the features which have just been listed as typical of the Interlacustrine group; in particular there are here practically no traces of the caste-like system which has been considered to be characteristic of these peoples. Nevertheless it seemed best to put Buganda at the head of this series since its government had reached a greater degree of centralization than any of the neighbouring kingdoms when Speke visited the region in 1862 and its political organization remains more highly developed to this day.

Moreover, when the British occupied the country at the end of the nineteenth century Ganda chiefs allied themselves with the new administration and Ganda officials were subsequently sent out to rule over the other tribes in the Protectorate, introducing their own political system when they did so. It is therefore useful to preface a study of the present-day administration of the Interlacustrine Bantu by an analysis of the political structure and ideas which formed such a strong influence over the development, for instance, of Bunyoro, Toro, Ankole and Busoga.[3]

Buganda lies on the north shore of Lake Victoria in the fertile and well-watered country which forms the lake basin. The south is

[1] Written by A. I. Richards from material collected in 1951 and 1952, with additional material from M. Southwold and W. P. Tamukedde, both formerly members of the staff of the East African Institute of Social Research.

[2] In fact Roscoe considers Buganda to have been part of an earlier 'Kitara' empire centred in the territory which is now Bunyoro.

[3] As well as of Bugisu, Kigezi and other parts of Uganda. Ganda terms for political divisions such as *saza* (county), *gombolola* (sub-county), *muruka* (parish) are used in these areas.

densely populated, while the north, where the soil is less fertile and the rainfall not so regular, is more sparsely inhabited. The staple food of this area is the plantain, with sweet potatoes, cassava and various pulses as subsidiary foods. The present prosperity of the kingdom dates from the introduction of cotton as a cash crop in 1905 and its subsequent development and expansion.

During the early years of its occupation the Protectorate Government hoped that the country would be suitable for white settlement and there was a small boom in tea, coffee and rubber estates in the years 1911–14, but many of these were abandoned during the slump of 1921, and in 1926 the Government announced its intention of developing the country by means of peasant production. A few coffee and tea estates, mostly near Kampala and Mityana, are still run by European and Asian planters and a big sugar estate near Jinja was opened by Asians in 1924, but the bulk of the land alienated to non-Africans is in the form of township plots. All the cotton and the bulk of the coffee is produced by African peasants earning an average income of £50 a year. Small farmers earn about £200–300 a year and there are a few large-scale farmers who earned £3,000–6,000 a year during the recent coffee boom. Some processing of cotton and coffee is also in African hands.

Of recent years there has been considerable industrial development in and around Kampala, which is the commercial centre of Uganda.[1] Here Africans own many little shops and stores, even though the bigger shops are financed and run by Indians and Europeans. There are several African markets and a number of small undertakings, such as brick-making, have been started by Ganda in the vicinity. On the borders of Kampala township lies Mengo, the seat of the Buganda Government and the site of the Kabaka's palace. Kampala is also the educational centre of the Protectorate since it includes Makerere, the University College of East Africa, and the headquarters of the Protestant and Catholic Churches. These facts are important in relation to the political development of the country. In some African tribes chieftainship is one of the few openings for a man of ability and ambition; in Buganda there are many alternative opportunities for advance.

The kingdom of Buganda is now a province of the Uganda Protectorate. Its population was about 1,300,000 according to the 1948 census, of which some 836,000 were Ganda. Since the early

[1] The seat of the Protectorate Government is at Entebbe, twenty miles away.

part of the century immigrants have been attracted from the less wealthy regions in the neighbourhood such as north-west Uganda and Ruanda-Urundi, to settle permanently or temporarily in Buganda, and in some districts these immigrants outnumber the Ganda.[1] However, at present local government remains everywhere in the hands of the Ganda and there are no separate ethnic groups forming distinct units or castes in the total tribal structure.

The Traditional Political System

The Ganda have many different legends of origin, which need not concern us here. They generally include tales which explain how the first king, Kintu, arrived in the country with members of other clans and established his position in relation to clan groups found in the country; and how a subsequent king, Kimera, was fetched from Bunyoro, so that the royal dynasty of Buganda is presumably of Nilotic 'Bito' origin, as is the royal family of Bunyoro. Stories of Chwezi kings, which are so common among the Interlacustrine Bantu, are remarkable for their absence in Buganda.[2]

The empire of Buganda grew by military conquest and expanded from the central districts, Busiro, Kyadondo and Mawokota, which surround the present township of Kampala, till there were thirteen districts, including the Sesse islands, by the time the Imperial East African Company assumed control in 1888, and tribute was being received from other areas, including southern Busoga. The Ganda allied themselves with the British under Lugard to march on Bunyoro and as a result five more counties were added to Buganda. Buvuma was conquered and Koki to the west, which had given tribute to Buganda since the end of the eighteenth century, became a county of Buganda by the 1900 Agreement signed by Sir Harry Johnston and the government of Buganda. It retains its hereditary chief, the Kamswaga.

The political structure of Buganda has already been described as a kingdom with a strong central government. The king (Kabaka) traces his succession to 34 previous holders of the title. Ganda monarchs are not 'divine kings', as described on p. 38, but the birth, accession, marriage and burial of the king are surrounded by ritual acts of a most complex nature, generally carried out by

[1] Cf. *Economic Development and Tribal Change*, ed. A. I. Richards, 1954, chap. IV.

[2] Although Kintu and his son, Chwa, may well have been Chwezi kings.

representatives of one or more of the Ganda clans. The king used to be doctored with magic of protection at the beginning of his reign. Cults are centred round the royal drums and ceremonies are performed at the shrines of dead kings by their agnatic descendants. There are 29 such shrines in Busiro, the heart of Buganda, and each shrine is supposed to have its own prime minister (*katikiro*), and its royal sister (*nalinya*) in charge, as well as descendants of wives of the dead king and one or more spirit mediums who were possessed by the departed monarch. In the old days the chiefs who had served the former monarch settled near his temple. The Kabaka was not the centre of a hierarchical system of ancestor worship of the type common among the central and southern Bantu, but he sent offerings, such as animal or human sacrifices, to local cult centres of 'gods' (*lubale*), to Kibuka, the god of war, for instance, or to gods of pestilence, fertility or rain. Some of these shrines were under the control of clan heads, and priests and spirit mediums officiated there. The shrines were scattered over the territory, but some of the most important, such as that of Kibuka, also had centres at the capital, and their priests sometimes visited the court.[1]

Roscoe's plan of Mutesa's capital shows temples to the three gods, Mukasa, Nakibinge and Semuima, opposite the royal enclosure and a fetish house and temples to Kibuka and Musisi outside the enclosure.[2] The king received messages through the spirit mediums at these shrines and also from the mediums at the shrines of the dead kings in Busiro who spoke in the name of the monarchs associated with temples built on the site of the villages which they had last occupied.

The ritual of the royal dairy and the sacred herds was not carried out by the Kabaka as it was by the kings of Bunyoro, Toro and Ankole; nor were milk, beef and vegetable taboos kept. But new moon ceremonies are associated with the royal shrines, especially with the central shrine at Kasubi where the last three kings are buried. A special official, the *kimbugwe*, looked after the umbilical cords or 'twins' of the Kabaka, and the cords of dead kings, decorated in bead-work, were brought from their shrines and shown to the reigning monarchs at such times.[3] The Kabaka was supposed to look at the new moon in a shallow bowl of milk.

[1] Mackay describes the visit of the priest of Mukasa from the main cult centre in the Sesse Islands to the court of Mutesa; cf. *Mackay of Uganda*, by His Sister, 1890, p. 148.

[2] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, 1911, p. 523.

[3] P. J. Gorju, *Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Edouard*, 1920, chap. IX.

Many of the titles of the Kabaka suggest that he was believed to have superhuman powers. He was called the '*lubale* of the earth' as distinct from the '*lubale* of the air' just mentioned. He is addressed as 'father of twins', 'married man' of Buganda, 'marriage' and 'queen ant of the termite hill', as well as 'lion' and other attributes signifying ferocity.

On the arrival of Speke, the Ganda king, Mutesa, was found to be in an almost omnipotent position. He presided over a large capital with a population running into tens of thousands, if the information given to Roscoe by Kagwa is correct. He had control over most of the Arab guns which had been first introduced in the reign of his father, Suna. He had power of life and death over his people and maintained his authority by severe and brutal punishments, such as the destruction of houses and property, the selling of his subjects into slavery, mutilation, burning offenders alive or hacking them to pieces. Some of those who suffered were guilty of grave crimes against the king, but some merely of minor offences such as sneezing in the Kabaka's presence or exposing a limb in a fashion thought indecent; others were peasants caught and killed as sacrifices or even occasionally destroyed as a display of the Kabaka's might. European visitors to the court of Mutesa I (1852 to 1884) all emphasize the extreme insecurity of life at the royal village.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the king had acquired complete administrative control over Buganda. He appointed his own supporters as governors in all but two of the districts under him and allocated fiefs and benefices in land or offices within these districts. He was head of a standing army as well as of the district levies recruited by the governors and their assistants. He controlled some 10,000 canoes, according to Kagwa, with a regular 'navy' of 104 canoes under the Gabunga, or hereditary head of the lungfish clan.[1] He was the supreme judge in court cases, the head of all the clan authorities and the recipient of tax from the whole country.

How did the Kabakas of Buganda attain such a dominant position in the political structure, while Busoga, Buhaya and Buzinza remained a collection of tiny kingdoms until the arrival of the Europeans at the end of the nineteenth century? The first step seems to have been the gradual elimination of, or reduction of the power of hereditary clan and lineage heads, who ruled over their

[1] Kagwa, Sir Apolo, *Mpisa za Baganda*, 1905 (3rd ed.), pp. 292–7.

own districts during the days of the first Kabakas and some of whom maintained rights of succession to important territorial rulerships.[1] The clan heads were ousted by king's governors made administrative heads over the large named districts now known as counties (*amasaza*; sing., *saza*). Kagwa suggested to Roscoe that the kings first appointed as clan heads loyal supporters of theirs who happened to be members of the clan of the previous holder of the office and that their next step was to appoint a personal representative of the 'crown' to live near the borders of the clan territory (*butaka*) and to report how things were going on. These king's representatives finally assumed administrative control over districts as governors or saza chiefs, while the clan authorities were limited to ruling over the hills where their ancestors were buried. It is not clear what evidence Kagwa had, but the hypothesis is at any rate a likely one.[2] Kagwa also mentions 23 clan authorities (*bataka*) who avoided meeting the Kabaka because they had formerly been independent on their own lands and hence did not care to see the man who had been their equal and had then 'turned them into peasants (*bakopi*)'. These men wore special brass rings and head-crests and were represented at the capital by their sons or deputies until the breach was apparently healed by Mutesa I at the end of the nineteenth century.[3] Many clan authorities seem to have been killed, although they were supposed to be immune from arrest or execution by the king's officers, and mass murders of members of lineage groups are remembered.[4] Clan authorities seem

[1] A. H. Cox has analysed information on this point contained in the work of Sir Apolo Kagwa and Bishop Gorju. Thirty successive Mugema, or heads of the *Nkima* or monkey clan, ruled over Busiro, the central county of Buganda until it was turned into an ordinary administrative division some 25 years ago: there were eleven successors of the grasshopper clan in Busujju, followed by sixteen from the pangolin clan. There are signs of hereditary succession to the chieftainship in Kyadondo in the colobus clan for nine generations and in the lungfish clan (twenty successors) to the rulership of Bulemezi. The clan succession stops about the time of the Kabakas Junju and Semakokiro, the 26th and 27th Kabakas, roughly dated 1780–97 and 1797–1814. By the beginning of the century the Mugema seems to have been the only clan head acting as a hereditary ruler over a county, with the Kamswaga, or hereditary ruler of Koki, sending tribute to the Kabaka. (A. H. Cox, 'The Growth and Expansion of Buganda', *Uganda Journal*, vol. XIV, No. 2, 1950.)

[2] 'Enquiry into Native Land Tenure in Uganda Protectorate', by Rev. J. Roscoe and Sir Apolo Kagwa, MS at Rhodes House (Bodleian) 1906; a full quotation is given by Chilver on p. 380. See also P. J. Gorju, op. cit., chap. II. The Roscoe Rhodes House MS gives a number of instances of clan lands being taken away by kings.

[3] Kagwa, Sir Apolo, *Mpisa za Baganda*, pp. 151 ff.

[4] Ibid., pp. 148–9.

to have fronted up to the situation by stressing their traditional court offices which gave them access to the king, and by providing boys for his service and girls to become his wives. If a clan 'daughter' became the mother of a Kabaka the fortunes of her clan or lineage were improved. Important royal wives also received the taxes from specially listed chiefdoms.[1] Otherwise clan leaders were reduced by the end of the nineteenth century to ruling over the peasants living at their own clan centres, or *butaka* lands, and to jurisdiction in clan courts over cases of succession, marriage, blood feuds or other disputes between their members.

A second step towards centralization was the elimination of competition from the princes of the blood (*balangira*). Ganda princes, unlike commoners, honour their mothers' totems and not their fathers', and this rule is always explained as being due to the fear that 'one clan'—i.e. the royal clan—'should become stronger than all the others'. There is, therefore, according to Ganda theory, no royal clan, but only a royal dynasty, composed of the princes of direct descent, that is to say, the sons of a ruling Kabaka ('Princes of the Mujaguzo drum') and grandsons of a ruling king ('Princes of the Kanaba drum'). However, all descendants of all the previous Kabakas are known as princes (*balangira*) and are divided into segments similar to those in the commoner clans. These commoner princes may be living the life of ordinary peasants and are sometimes known as 'peasant princes', or princes of the 'barkcloth tree', i.e. princes who did not succeed but were given estates marked by the planting of a barkcloth (*mutuba*) tree. The peasant princes who are no longer in the direct line of descent are organized under a head, the *ssabalangira*, and have their own councils at lineage levels and form to all intents and purposes a Ganda clan. However, Ganda princes never formed a privileged class as do the members of the royal Bito clan in Bunyoro and Toro, and the gradual reduction in the power of the princes is marked, from such historical data as we have. In the reigns of the early Kabakas, brothers fought for the throne. Later they seem to have been given estates, but not political authority, and by the time of Suna, i.e. in the early part of the nineteenth century, princes in direct succession to the throne, the princes of the drum, were killed on the accession of a new Kabaka. The Kabakas Semakokiro, Kamanya, Suna, Mutesa and Kalema are said to have killed their brothers. The Kabaka also placed the

[1] Kagwa, Sir Apolo, op. cit., p. 102.

ssabalangira or head of the princes, under an official nominated by him, the *kasujju*.[1] This elimination of the princes from political life continued until recently, for after the arrival of the British it was provided that no prince should ever become a county or sub-county chief.[2]

By the middle of the nineteenth century most of the major territorial divisions, now called counties, were under the administrative control of governors directly appointed by the Kabaka from among his favourites or faithful followers. These governors were office-bearers of the king as well as district administrators; his '*sabaddu*' or head of the slaves, his '*sabagabo*' or shield-bearer, and his '*musale*' or leader of the army vanguard and so forth. The administrative head of Kyagwe was, for example, the *sabaddu*, or head of the king's slaves, and that of Mawokota, the *musale*. Although the powers associated with territorial governorships became more important than those belonging to offices at the king's court, the titles are of interest because they formed the basis of a precedence scale and were used by anyone in authority such as a governor, sub-governor or holder of a benefice to grade those working under him. Even today the sub-county chiefs are described as the *mumyuka*, *sabaddu* and so forth, to indicate their order of status, and the same titles are also used to rank the parish chiefs within a sub-county or the headmen within a parish. The titles are not associated with ownership of land, but indicate precedence only. If the vicar of the most important parish in an English diocese were called the colonel and those of the smaller parishes were graded as major or captain, it would form some kind of parallel to the Buganda system of borrowing a precedence scale from one kind of activity to apply it to another.

The king's territorial governors[3] were in administrative charge of counties. The county was the unit of tax collection and it was at the governor's establishment that the king's tax-collectors gathered the cowry shells, hoes, barkcloths and other commodities used and from which the tax went to the prime minister, the Katikiro, and then to the king. County governors presided over judicial courts from which cases went on appeal to the Kabaka. The county was also the military unit. The governors raised levies

[1] P. J. Gorju, op. cit., p. 137.

[2] Cf. the present position in Ruanda, where all chiefs at the first, second and third level are members of the royal clan, Tusi.

[3] Translated by Speke as 'Earls'.

when required to do so. Kagwa states that the soldiers marched county by county and that at the middle of the nineteenth century, when the king had his own personal military officers to raise separate levies, the *mujazi* or war-leader in each county was called after the name of his county when on the march.[1] Counties bordering the lake, such as Busiro, Kyadondo, Kyagwe, Buddu and Sesse, were responsible for providing the king's regular navy of 104 canoes.

These county governors had their sub-governors under them.[2] These ruled over named districts, and were arranged in the order of precedence described above. The sub-governors were also appointed by the king. Below these were often district heads. The governors had also their own private estates in which, like the king, they appointed their own favourites, often sons or clan members, to positions of authority. For instance, Roscoe records that one county, Kyagwe, was divided into six administrative divisions, each with its traditional name and its sub-governor, the latter being arranged in status by the precedence titles described above. The governor of this county had also six personal subordinates on his own private estates. The district of sub-governors might also be sub-divided. One in this county had eight district heads under him, while another sub-governor had five. Thus there were usually three levels of territorial administrators, all appointed by the Kabaka, except the personal subordinates of a governor on his own estates.[3]

The administration was thus a very close one and correlated with it was a system of taxation based on a count of peasants by chiefs and tax-collectors with a due fixed per head, which seems to have been quite unlike the casual tribute given to rulers in the neighbouring tribes. The tax went to the chief minister and then to the king, with fixed proportions returning to the territorial rulers at different levels.[4]

Road-making was also highly developed and the system of roads

[1] Kagwa, Sir Apolo, op. cit., chap. XIV, and J. Roscoe, Rhodes House MS. cited above.

[2] These were probably the *bakungu*, though the name is used in a number of different ways by Kagwa and other Ganda authors.

[3] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, pp. 250–1.

[4] J. Roscoe, op. cit., p. 214, and Kagwa, Sir Apolo, op. cit., chap. XV, describe systems of dividing cowry collections that are incredibly complex, yet Kagwa was in charge of Kabaka Mwanga's treasury in his youth and is likely to be reliable on these points, and he was evidently interested in figures and the counting of men and commodities.

linking the capital with the outlying districts was no doubt one of the factors which made central government possible. Here again each level of chief had its own responsibilities for the making of the roads and its own opportunities for making profits on the undertaking.

Not content, however, with the appointment of their own supporters as territorial rulers, later Kabakas took to giving out land to their own favourites as fiefs in return for some such duty as raising soldiers, collecting firewood or barkcloth or performing ritual services. These estates were known as *bitongole* (sing., *kitongole*) and their holders as *batongole*. Kagwa suggested to Roscoe that the *batongole* were appointed by the king to keep watch on the growing power of the territorial governors, and this is implied by Gorju also.[1] According to the latter, *bitongole* were introduced in the reign of Kabaka Mawanda, that is, about the middle of the seventeenth century.[1] Elsewhere Kagwa describes Semakokiro and his successor Kamanya as being institutors of *bitongole* and this would make it considerably later.[2] In any case, all authorities are agreed that the practice became much more common at the end of the nineteenth century, during the reign of Mutesa I. Holders of fiefs tried to assert hereditary rights to their estates but did not often succeed, apparently because the Kabaka was on his guard against the establishment of permanent claims of this sort. Hence he was often able to give out vacant estates to new favourites. In each reign a royal *kitongole* was also created and it was named after the ruling monarch, so that Kitesa is the estate founded by Mutesa and Kisuna that of Suna. A large part of the present Kabaka's landed property consists of royal estates of past kings, administered by his personal bailiffs. The fief-holders reported direct to the king, and there are suggestions that they had their own head who collected tax from the *bitongole* in that county and carried it to the governor's headquarters.

The county itself was therefore a patchwork of lordships of different kinds. In the administrative jurisdiction of a county governor, there would be, as we have seen, his own private estates and those of some of the senior sub-governors. There might also be several estates of princes or princesses, each of whom ruled over their own tenants or had a bailiff to do so. Princes' estates were

[1] Rhodes House MS. Cf. also P. J. Gorju, op. cit., chap. XI.

[2] Kagwa, Sir Apolo, *Basekabaka ba Buganda*, chaps. XI and XII. *Batongole* wore special copper-made ornaments which distinguished them as king's men.

usually passed on to heirs, though not those of a princess. There might also be clan or lineage centres where clan heads (*bakulu b'ebika* or *bataka*) lived with their followers and claimed direct access to the king and sometimes immunity from tax or tribute payment. Besides these hereditary princes and clan officials there would be the different benefice-holders who had been given authority over large or small tracts of land by the king. The queen mother and the king's ministers also had estates distributed in each county.

Directly administering the peasants in the everyday affairs of life was the lord of the village, *omwami we kyalo*, appointed by his immediate superior to allocate plots of land, to arbitrate in disputes and to supervise in the raising of tax and military levies. When the superior lord was moved to another office, the lord of the village went with him if he was a client, and a new *omwami we kyalo* was then appointed. However, if the head of the village had been appointed by the Kabaka direct his position was independent of his superior lord.[1]

All owners of domains, great or small, were addressed as 'lord' (*omwami*) and to their peasants they stood in the same relationship. The minister, the county governor and sub-governors, the king's *batongole*, big and small, scattered about the country, the clan heads: all these persons held different status with regard to the king, but to the peasants on their land they were all 'lords', who were owed the same allegiance, tribute and service. The peasants were the lord's men and they had no redress from his demands except by moving to serve another lord.

All these different officials, whether they were territorial administrators or holders of benefices, made a formal act of homage to the Kabaka on receiving their appointments. They pranced before the king, brandishing spears and shouting that they were his men. They recited the names of those of their ancestors who were famous and who had also received offices from kings. This act (*kuwera*) can hardly be described as true vassalage, since neither the Kabaka nor the office-bearer formally promised to fulfil specific duties towards each other. Yet the act had evidently some legal validity, and it is never omitted, even at the present day.

A young man secured the king's favour by working as a page at the court of a territorial ruler or, if he came of a privileged family,

[1] Information provided by M. Southwold.

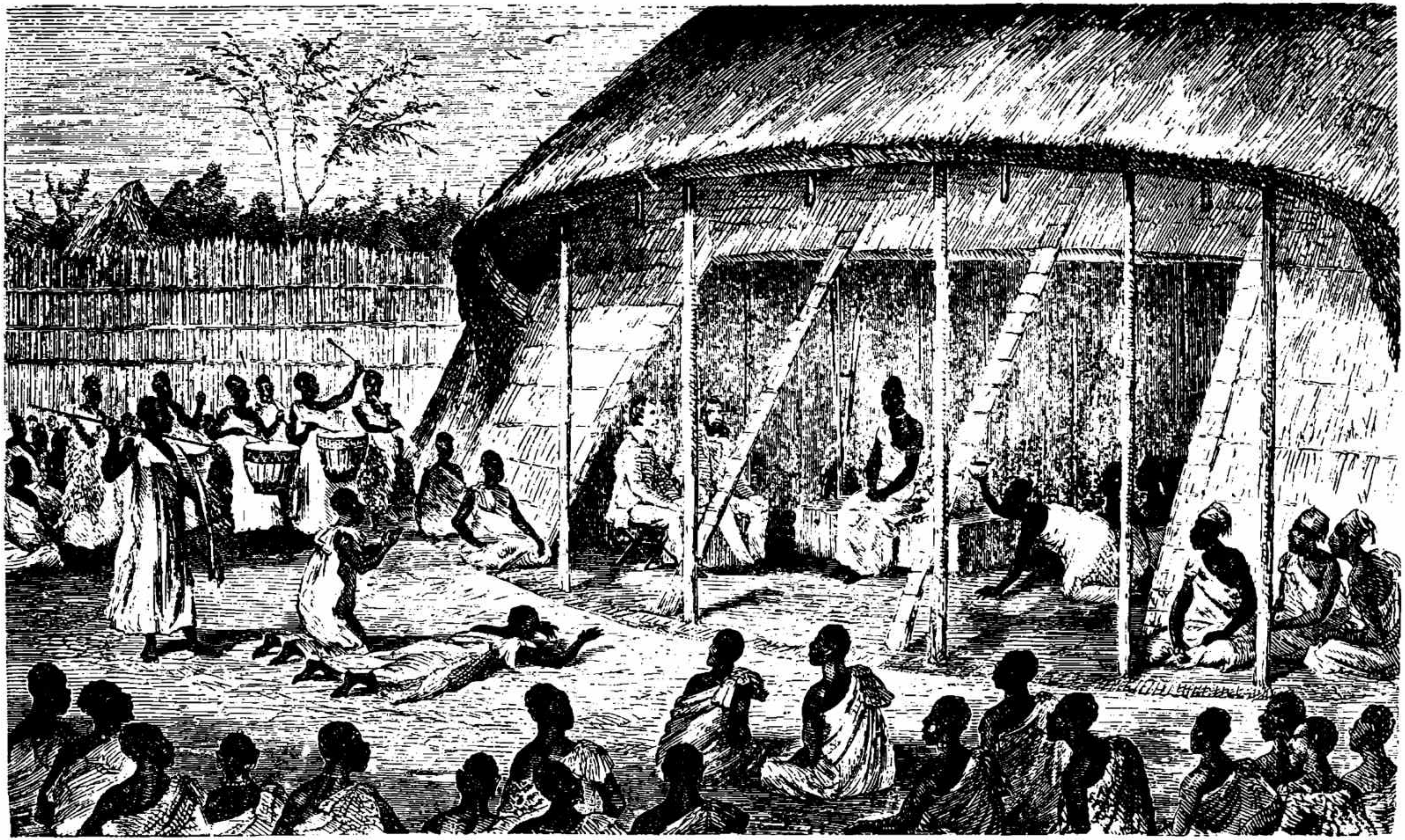
at that of the king. He kept the royal favour by assiduously fulfilling the king's commands; he might then hope to secure an office either in the Kabaka's treasury, as a king's *mutongole* or office-holder in charge of a fief, or as a war-captain. He might finally rise to become county governor or even to the position of chief minister, Katikiro. It was a mobile system with constant chances of promotion from office to office. The key to success was invariably access to the king's chief minister, the Katikiro, and finally to the king himself.

The king maintained his power over his territorial governors and fief-holders by requiring them constantly to visit the capital so that they might be under observation. Hence the institution so common in this area, that of the deputy, or *musigire*, of a man in authority. In Buganda there were also sub-deputies (*muwogozi* or *mumyuka myukanye*).

The system provided for an elaborate balance of powers. Although the Kabaka appointed his favourites as territorial governors by the beginning of the nineteenth century, he does not seem to have trusted his own client chiefs. Clan leaders and princes, the hereditary elements of society, had direct access to the king and could report on the loyalty of the county governors; the king's benefice-holders could do the same. Mutesa I even recruited his own army, apart from the territorial levies raised by the county governors, and he appointed over it a special commander-in-chief, the *mujasi*, who had county representatives. He thus had something like a permanent army for the first time in the history of Buganda.

The central organization was also strong and elaborate. In fact there was evidently a clear distinction between the authorities of the palace and those in the districts. The Kabaka had his Katikiro in direct control of the territorial governors and this powerful minister had his own numerous office-bearers under him and, as we have seen, his own private estates scattered about the country. Kagwa says that his enclosure at the capital contained over 100 houses.[1] But there was also an hereditary head of all the palace officials; the *kibale* or 'Katikiro of within', who was a member of the *Mpeo* clan and who acted as representative of the king when he was away. There was also the *kimbugwe* or 'keeper of the kings' navel cords', in charge of fetiches and shrines; the head of the princes (*ssabalangira*); the head of the king's treasury (*nkuluze*);

[1] Kagwa, Sir Apolo, *Mpisa za Baganda*, p. 131.



Visit of Speke and Grant to Palace of Mutesa, Kabaka of Buganda 1862.

Office of the Buganda government 1955.

the tax-collectors; the commander-in-chief (*mujasi*); the head of the king's herds; the head of his pages; the organizer of his beer supplies (*musenero*), or of the royal wood supplies, and many other household officials. His leading nobles and governors had houses at the capital and came daily to pay court to him (*kukika*) and from this word comes Lukiko, the name of the present-day Ganda council. There was no tribal council of the type of the *pitso* of the Tswana-speaking peoples to act as a check on the king by the expression of public opinion, but senior governors and favourites seem to have formed an inner council which advised the king and had nearer access than the occasional assembly of all the chiefs of all levels described by Kagwa.[1]

Changes introduced by the British Administration

The political structure of the Ganda did not appear to be drastically changed by the terms of the Uganda Agreement signed between the British Administration and the leading chiefs of Buganda in 1900.[2] The new Protectorate Government recognized the Kabaka and his heirs as kings of Buganda and confirmed the system of administrative authorities that formed his government: these were described as 'chiefs'. The position of the Katikiro was recognized and two new ministers were appointed—a minister of justice (*omulamuzi*) and a treasurer (*omuwanika*). The Kabaka's traditional gathering of notables and courtiers was made the basis of a central council of the country, the Lukiko: its composition was fixed at 89 members, three ministers, twenty county chiefs, three notables from each county and other notables chosen by the Kabaka. It was to have regular meetings.

At the beginning of the century the essential element of the power structure of Buganda, that is to say the Kabaka's right to appoint all his chiefs, remained nominally unchanged, except in so far as the Protectorate Governor had to approve appointments. This issue, however, did not become an important one during the minority of the child king, Daudi Chwa. The transition in fact seems to have been smooth. The British counted themselves lucky to have struck a system that provided recognized chiefs with effective authority over their people. They were glad to find rulers who were not hereditary, but who could be moved at will from

[1] Kagwa, Sir Apolo, op. cit., chap. XII.

[2] The Kabaka of Buganda, Daudi Chwa, was then a minor, a child of four.

county to county, promoted and demoted according to their abilities. The Katikiro (Apolo Kagwa) and the leading chiefs were the young Protestant converts who had acted as British allies from the early days of the occupation.[1] They seem indeed to have regarded themselves, at any rate for a time, as clients of the British Government instead of clients of the Kabaka. It was obvious where the real power lay.

In fact, however, the changes produced in the political structure of Buganda were much greater than appeared. Some of these were the result of direct British administrative policy and some were indirect in the sense that they could hardly have been foreseen at the time.

The most important of the latter were the changes produced by the introduction of a form of freehold land-holding by the Uganda Agreement. Anxious to settle the country quickly, Sir Harry Johnston offered permanent titles to 8,000 square miles of land then held by the royal family, the governors, the benefice-holders and other authorities. The number of dignitaries first proposed was 1,000; this figure was later expanded to 3,000 and the final allocation of landed estates had little exact relation to the estates or administrative divisions formerly held. Some, but not all, clan authorities received land. Official estates to be associated with the chiefly offices were recognized and these are now eight square miles in the case of a county chief, from which are subtracted the 49 acres which form the official estates of the sub-county chiefs. The king and other notables were granted large private estates, some of twelve or more square miles, and many more of four square miles or one square mile. These private estates were inhabited by peasants as they had been from time immemorial.

This so-called *mailo* system has often been described. The new provisions for freehold definitely divorced landowning from direct association with the political authority of that area,[2] although landownership is still indirectly associated with political power, as we shall see. It gave permanent rights to land, and originally to the service of tenants living on the land, instead of impermanent rights held precariously at the king's pleasure. It made it possible for the allottees to buy and sell land, and many of them began to do so. It also made it possible for the notables of the time to become wealthy

[1] See D. A. Low, 'The British and the Baganda', *International Affairs*, vol. 32, No. 3, 1956.

[2] Cf. L. P. Mair, *An African People in the Twentieth Century*, 1934, p. 198.

through the use of tribute labour before this was commuted to a money-payment by the *Busulu* and *Envujo* Law of 1927. A new class therefore came into existence—a relatively wealthy land-owning class, which lived as near to the European standard of living as was possible in the then conditions of East African life, and which sent its sons to England, West Africa, South Africa or Ceylon to be educated. As will be seen, this was the class which provided and still provides most of the administrators of Buganda. Later, peasants also began to buy land with money acquired through the sale of their cotton and they bought considerable quantities from the original landowners, who often preferred motor-cars, modern houses or other goods to an annual income from rent. Many peasants have become quite large landowners in this way and their sons have gone to secondary schools and have also entered the administrative class.

Among the direct changes which took place under British advice was the transformation of the old territorial units. The old county (saza) units were maintained with their historic titles, which seem to have been in use for 300 or 400 years. The old county governors were recognized as county or saza chiefs and their courts were given statutory powers.

Below the county, the British Administration substituted for the patchwork of royal estates, clan lands and benefices an orderly demarcation into sub-counties[1] called *gombolola* from the word 'to disentangle' or 'to unravel', which was the name applied to the Katikiro's court built in front of the king's sacred fire and sometimes to the fire itself, since disputes between men in charge of gathering firewood were settled there.[2] Each county chief had nine or ten sub-county chiefs under him, and these received the traditional precedence titles described on p. 48.[3] Each gombolola chief had also his own statutory court. Some of the new sub-counties correspond to the old territorial sub-divisions, such as sub-districts or *bitongole*, and their chiefs can properly be addressed by the ancient names of the original fief-holders. Sometimes, however, entirely new divisions were made and there have been frequent alterations of the boundaries of sub-counties for practical administrative reasons.

[1] These changes were regularized by a Native Courts Proclamation of 1909.

[2] Kagwa, Sir Apolo, op. cit., p. 122.

[3] Below the fixed office titles came *mutuba* I, II and III, a *mutuba* being a barkcloth tree planted as a boundary mark.

BUGANDA

Traditional system (*circa* 1860)		
	Kabaka—hereditary	
Ritual head (*Kimbugwe*)—appointed.		Palace head (*Kibale*)—clan office.
	Chief Minister—appointed by Kabaka (*katikiro*)	
(Probably 10)	District Governor (*omwami owe saza*)	District Governor—appointed by Kabaka
Numerous	Sub-governor (*omwami*)	Sub-governor—appointed by Kabaka
	District head (*omwami*)	District head—appointed by Governor
	Village head (*omwami owe kyalo*)	Village head

Modern System (*post* 1953)		
	Kabaka	
Treasurer (*omuwanika*)—salaried, pensionable, appointed by P.M.	Prime Minister (*katikiro*)—salaried, pensionable, elected.	Chief Justice (*omulamuzi*). Salaried, pensionable, appointed by P.M.
(*Number*)	(*Unit*)	(*Ruler*)
20	County (*saza*). Corresponds to old district.	Chief (*omwami owe saza*). Salaried, pensionable, appointed by Committee appointed by Kabaka.
128	Sub-county (*gombolola*). Rough correspondence to old sub-governorship.	Chief (*omwami owa gombolola*). Salaried, pensionable, appointed.
907 (approx.)	Parish (*muruka*).	Chief (*omwami owe muruka*). Salaried, appointed, sometimes hereditary.
Numerous	Village (*mutala*).	Village leaders (*batongole*). One or more chosen by parish chief or landowner.

Additional officials

***Appointed officials* at centre with direct access to the Kabaka:**

Military head (*mujazi*) with county captains.

Head of canoes (*gabunga*).

Tax collector with county representatives.

Palace head (*Kibale*).

Hereditary officials with direct access to the Kabaka:

Clan heads (*bataka*).

Princes (*balangira*) under head (*ssabalangira*).

Estates

Royal: Estates of Kabaka and Queen Mother in each county.
Estates of princes (hereditary).
Estates of princesses (non-hereditary).

Official: Prime Minister's estates in each county and sub-county under their *batongole*. Governors' and Sub-governors' estates.

Fiefs: Hereditary or newly acquired (*bitongole*).

Clan lands. *Butaka* centres.

Below the sub-counties came the smaller units called *muruka* (pl., *miruka*) a term rather unsuitably translated as 'parish'. The muruka was in effect a collection of villages (*kyalo*; pl., *byalo*). A 'village' is a collection of houses strung along a ridge between two valleys. Occasionally the muruka corresponded to some small fief of ancient times, but more often than not there was no correspondence at all. Parish boundaries have also been drawn and redrawn since 1900. Parish chiefs have the precedence titles given on p. 48 and each has his own informal council, also called 'lukiko', but the constitution of the muruka council was only regularized in 1951 and it is not a statutory court, although its members do meet to arbitrate in local cases.

Parish chiefs are assisted by deputies (*basigire*) who act for them during their many absences on business. The deputies are chosen by the parish chief and receive no regular pay, although they are usually tenants of the chief and he may excuse them from paying rent (*busulu*). Muruka chiefs are also helped by assistants who transmit their orders to the peasants living on the different estates that go to make up a parish. These are now known as *batongole*, presumably because, like the fief-holders of the Kabaka in the old days, they are office-bearers or men put in charge of work. These new-time *batongole* are either landowners themselves or men chosen by an estate-owner from among his tenants. Even at this bottom end of the scale of dignitaries, the scale of precedence titles is used. Landowners or their *batongole* also act as informal arbitrators in tenants' disputes. They are unpaid and receive no formal recognition from the Protectorate Government except in so far as their name is mentioned in acts laying down the composition of parish councils for electoral purposes. Thus, in distinction to Bunyoro, Toro and Buhaya, Buganda only recognizes three levels of paid chiefs and not four. *Batongole* are here described as 'head-men.'

Parish chiefs are in theory transferable from office to office, although this rarely happens except in the case of parish chiefs on the enormous estates of the Kabaka, who form a kind of special civil service within a civil service and who come under the direction of the chief bailiff of the Kabaka's estates. As we shall see later there is some upward mobility for the muruka chief, since 41·2% of the present gombolola chiefs started life as muruka chiefs. *Batongole*, on the other hand, are entirely local officials who are never transferred from post to post.

Having demarcated the administrative units and defined the

authority of the Buganda administrators, the Protectorate Government began to exert increasing control over the appointments of chiefs. R. C. Pratt gives an interesting account of the process by which this extension of powers took place.[1] The first county chief to resign since the 1900 Agreement had to be replaced in 1916 and from then on the Provincial Commissioner, later the Resident of Buganda, tried to influence appointments to county chieftainships. The Protectorate Government made no claims to advise on the appointment of sub-county chiefs in 1909 when they were given official status, but the names of these chiefs began to be sent regularly to the Governor in 1917. The Administration evidently felt such control or influence over appointments to be necessary. The powerful feudal lords of the past with their town houses and country estates were to be taught to travel round their districts, to supervise tax-collection, to institute welfare measures, to collect labour for the Government and to act as judges in courts conducted according to British ideas. A course of instruction for chiefs was introduced by the then Provincial Commissioner in 1919 and this caused friction with the Ganda prime minister.[2] Protectorate Government officials toured the country and reported on the behaviour of all chiefs, and senior chiefs later made their own reports on their juniors to the Katikiro. The Administration wanted, according to Pratt, to see promotion within the chiefly ranks rather than from outside,[3] and to secure a balance between the conflicting interests of the three religious factions, Protestant, Catholic and Muslim.

The struggle over the right of the Buganda Government to appoint its chiefs reached a kind of climax in 1926. Chiefs began to receive fixed salaries and the Protectorate Government successfully claimed the right to supervise the accounts of the Buganda Government. In the same year, the aged prime minister, Sir Apolo Kagwa, resigned after a long conflict with the Provincial Commissioner, and the Administration gained more influence over appointments as the result. Dismissals from chieftainships became more frequent.

[1] R. C. Pratt and D. A. Low, *Political History of Buganda*, to be published.

[2] J. R. P. Posthelthwaite, *I Look Back*, 1947. There have been several such courses since, culminating in the permanent African Local Government school set up in Entebbe in 1954.

[3] They seem to have been indifferently successful in the first aim, since in 1934–5 only six out of 25 chiefs newly appointed in twenty months had been chiefs before.

The Protectorate Administration also introduced many British ideas into the central organization of the Buganda Government. The central council, or Lukiko, is, in a sense, a British creation. A secretary to the Lukiko was appointed and minutes of its meetings began to be kept from 1900. The committee system was introduced and enthusiastically accepted by the Ganda, judging from the number of committees that now exist at the headquarters of the Buganda Government. Later a process of democratization of the Lukiko took place. The first council recognized by the Uganda Agreement consisted, as we saw, entirely of representatives appointed by the Kabaka. In 1939 a new measure was passed by which the Kabaka started to nominate unofficial members instead of parish chiefs at the lower level. In 1945, 31 unofficial members were elected indirectly through a system of electoral colleges based on elections in each parish and sub-county. In 1953, 60 unofficial members were elected in the same way and hence, for the first time, unofficial members were in a majority over the official members, that is, the chiefs. The same policy was followed with regard to the county and sub-county councils, although the parish councils tended to carry on in traditional fashion and still do so today.

The extent to which the Government has been successful in establishing European concepts of bureaucracy will be discussed later by means of an analysis of the career histories of present-day chiefs, but the history of the last 50 years certainly gives evidence of continued conflict between the Ganda concept of chieftainship as authority bestowed by the Kabaka and dependent on loyalty to him[1] and the British concept of chieftainship as office in a bureaucratic service, salaried and pensionable, to which trained men are appointed on merit. The conflict, when it came into the open, was a conflict over the right of choice of chiefs, and it was on this right, more than on any other, that the powers of the Kabaka had traditionally depended. The tension reached its first climax, as we saw, during the last years of Sir Apolo Kagwa and the assumption of majority by the late Kabaka, Daudi Chwa. It made itself apparent again when the present Kabaka, who also succeeded in his infancy, became a major. The conflict is not yet over. By the Agreement of 1955, following the Hancock Committee, the Buganda Government became free of Protectorate Government influence over the appointment of chiefs for the first time.

[1] Or bestowed in the same way by the senior official of the Protectorate Government and dependent on loyalty to him.

These are now to be chosen by an Appointments Board composed of a chairman, three members and the permanent secretary to the prime minister (Katikiro). The intention of the Committee was obviously to put power into the hands of the Lukiko, which now has a large unofficial majority and which is to elect its Katikiro and also to choose five other ministers from a list of nominations to form a council of ministers 'charged with the conduct of the Kabaka's Government'.[1] However, according to the terms of the Agreement finally signed, the chairman and the three members of the Appointments Board are to be appointed by the Kabaka upon the recommendation of the ministry and with the approval of the Governor. The first chairman of the Board was the Kabaka's uncle, and, as was perhaps natural in the wave of enthusiasm following the Kabaka's return from exile and the signing of the new Agreement, the Board's first choice of chiefs was of men specially singled out for conspicuous loyalty to the Kabaka during his absence. It remains to be seen how the different clauses governing the working of the Appointments Board are interpreted by the Buganda Government.

Analysis of Chiefs' Career Histories

The material for this analysis is contained in three separate samples of chiefs' histories.

(a) *Higher Chiefs Sample* (1953)—In 1953 a circular was sent out for the E.A.I.S.R. by the Buganda Government to all the county chiefs (twenty) and all the sub-county chiefs (128). The career data contained in the answer to this questionnaire were supplemented by additional information on kinship and land tenure obtained by means of interview.[2]

(b) *Three-county Sample* (1951)—In 1951 a vertical sample section of chiefs was made in three counties, Busiro, Kyagwe and Buddu. By a vertical sample section is meant the county chief, all the sub-county chiefs in that county and all the parish chiefs in one selected sub-county. In this sample the figures were as follows:

[1] The traditional ministers of finance and justice plus three new departmental ministers for health, education and natural resources; see Buganda Draft Agreements, 1955, Clause 8 (1).

[2] Mainly by W. P. Tamukedde.

3 *County*	39 *Sub-county*	32 *Parish*	
	Busiro 8	Busiro (Mumyuka)	7
		Busiro (Mutuba III)	8
	Kyagwe 16	Kyagwe (Mutuba VII)	7
	Buddu 15	Buddu (Musale)	10

It cannot be maintained that these counties were selected on any random basis. They were the counties in which we happened to be working at the time. Since they are central, it is probable that the chiefs described are more educated and have been more subject to European contact than those on the outskirts of Buganda.

(c) *Two-county Sample* (1952)—A further vertical sample section of chiefs in two of the same counties (Busiro and Buddu) was made in 1952 in order to get additional data on land tenure and the kinship of chiefs. This is the sample from which the figures in the tables on p. 72 are drawn.

(d) *Promotion and Dismissal Figures*—An analysis of the promotion and dismissal of higher chiefs was made by means of the *Uganda Gazette* which contains details of postings.

(e) *Career Histories of Council Members* (1953 and 1955)—Similar data were obtained on the career histories of elected council members for comparison with those of the chiefs. This material was collected by means of a questionnaire sent out by the Buganda Government.[1]

County and sub-county chiefs. County chiefs are very rarely appointed direct to their office.[2] They are usually promoted from the sub-county level. For this reason the two higher grades of chiefs are considered here together. The analysis is mainly based on the higher chiefs sample described above.

In the case of this total sample of higher chiefs, questions had been specifically framed to show how far chieftainship in Buganda has become a whole-time career as is the work of local government officials in this country, and what were the conditions which governed promotions, transfer and dismissal. Other questions were designed to elicit data as to the type of man entering the Buganda Government service in terms of birth, class, economic status,

[1] Collected by W. P. Tamukedde.

[2] Two county chiefs have been so appointed since the new Buganda Appointments Board was set up in 1955.

traditional office, education, religion and age. Lastly, chiefs were questioned as to their previous training and experience either as employees of the Protectorate or Buganda Governments or as workers in missionary institutions or in European or Asian businesses.

From the figures given on p. 76 it will be seen that most of the higher chiefs in Buganda have spent the greater part of their working life in the service of the Buganda Government. Fourteen out of twenty county chiefs had been serving as chiefs at different levels for twenty years (70%), 41 out of 128 sub-county chiefs served over fifteen years (32%).

The mobility of the senior chiefs which was such a feature of the traditional system has been increased rather than diminished. Traditions as regards promotion have also developed. For instance, certain sub-counties are considered easier to administer than others, either because they have a sparse population or because they do not include European or Indian concerns, such as sugar plantations or urban developments. These chieftainships are thought suitable for a beginner. Other sub-counties are much sought after, generally because they are near Kampala, the centre of the Buganda Government. The desire to be near the capital is partly due to a natural wish to enjoy urban or sub-urban conditions of living, but it also follows the traditional pattern of ambition. In the past, officials succeeded or failed according to their proximity to the Kabaka. The Buganda Government itself seems to follow a definite practice of bringing likely men into the centre for a period of service, presumably as a kind of training.[1] For instance, twelve out of the present county chiefs have served in the Central Government of Buganda, either as assistants to the ministers (Katikiro or *omulamuzi* or *omuwanika*) or as assistants to either the Buganda Treasury or the Kabaka's personal treasury. There is a keen interest in the transfers and promotions of chiefs and a good deal of rivalry and personal feeling. Curiously enough, frequent movement is thought to indicate that the man is rising rapidly and receiving favour, whereas in this country such movement might be taken as a sign that a man was not being successful in any post he held.

The table given below shows the different chieftainships held at different times by twenty county chiefs. It will be seen that senior

[1] British Colonial officials are sometimes brought home to serve a period in the Colonial Office in the same way.

TABLE SHOWING TRANSFERS OF COUNTY CHIEFS IN BUGANDA SERVICE (1953)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
No of sub-county chieftainships held	3	–	3	1	2	1	2	1	3	2	HEREDITARY	3	4	2	2	3	1	3	2	3
No. of county chieftainships held	1	3	3	1	3	3	3	4	3	1		3	3	1	2	3	1	2	2	2
No. of posts in Buganda Central Government	1	2	–	3	1	–	1	1	–	1		—	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	1
No. of ministers	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1

N.B. The chieftainship held at present counts as one, i.e. a county chief who has held two previous county posts reckons as three in the table above.

Ganda chiefs have a good opportunity of knowing about the administrative problems of their country as a whole. Of the present three ministers, for instance, one held one, one two and one three sub-county posts respectively; one held three posts and two held one post respectively in the central Government of Buganda; and one held one and two held two as county chiefs.

The table does not, of course, show the difference between the man who starts in an outlying sub-county and gradually works his way up from a junior to a senior county chieftainship and his fellow, probably a man of good family and court connections, who is promoted to a series of jobs in the Buganda Government and then appointed to a county near the capital (see No. 4 in the table above).

Nor does it reveal the fact that movements of chiefs are not, and cannot be, entirely random, as tradition maintains that the ministers should be chosen according to their religious affiliations. The prime minister has been a Protestant since 1888, the chief justice a Catholic and the treasurer a Protestant. Eight county chieftainships are also reckoned as Catholic appointments (e.g. Buddu and Mawokota), two Muslim (e.g. Butambala), and the rest are Protestant.

The conditions of service for the modern Ganda chief are very similar to those which apply to the Protectorate Government service. In fact, the one is obviously modelled on the other. County chiefs received salaries of Shs. 400/– to Shs. 1,100/– a month in 1953, and these men are administering on an average territories

inhabited by 70–80,000 people. Sub-county chiefs were getting Shs. 50/– to Shs. 400/– a month, and the average population of a sub-county is 8,000 people.[1] The tremendous variations in the size of both county and sub-county account for the wide salary range as well as differences in length of service, for the salaries of chiefs rise with regular increments until they retire on pensions. Like their European counterparts the two senior grades of chiefs are allotted official houses built by the Buganda Government and various other perquisites such as car loans. During their tenure of office they enjoy the rents from peasants on the official land attached to their chieftainship.[2] The salaries of the most important county chiefs are therefore high according to Ganda standards.

It is difficult to know what degrees of security of tenure higher chiefs have in Buganda but it is certainly greater than in the case of the Tanganyika tribes in the Interlacustrine group in which the British Administration have direct influence on appointments. Dismissals for malpractice are rare. During the years 1941 to 1950, fifteen sub-county chiefs were dismissed for bad conduct, but no county chiefs. Some of the retirements listed in the *Gazette* for the same period (nine county chiefs and 74 sub-county chiefs) are probably enforced retirements but it is impossible to estimate the proportion of these.[3] A number of enforced retirements of chiefs took place after the return of the Kabaka from his exile in England and it is possible that now that the Buganda Government controls all appointments to chieftainship changes may be more frequent.

There is no ruling caste or clan in Buganda, as has been explained, and only one hereditary county chief (the Kamswaga of Koki). Princes have been barred until recently from holding office as chiefs at the county and sub-county level. There is therefore no trace of direct succession to chieftainship in Buganda at this level. Yet the table given on p. 76 shows that on a total sample of county and sub-county chiefs, 55% of county and 37·5% of sub-county chiefs were themselves the sons of chiefs; 20% of county and 13% of sub-county chiefs were brothers of other chiefs; and 35% of

[1] Just under 50% of the county chiefs fell in the salary range of Shs. 500/– to Shs. 625/– a month and just under 40% of the sub-county chiefs were in the Shs. 100/– to Shs. 200/– range.

[2] Some county chiefs enjoy other assets over and above their salaries, e.g. the town-plot rents which go to the Mukwenda, chief of Singo county.

[3] A chief who retires keeps his pension, whereas one who is dismissed from service loses it. Therefore in the case of an old and not very efficient chief it is sometimes suggested to him that he retires voluntarily.

county and 14% of sub-county chiefs were brothers-in-law of chiefs.[1] Figures such as these point to the existence of something like a ruling class in Buganda. This is not surprising. In traditional Buganda sons of important persons were sent to be educated at the king's court and sons of less important persons to the courts of chiefs of different kinds. Such boys had greater opportunity to win promotion and they became the best fitted to be promoted since their work at court taught them to carry messages, to deal with visitors and to listen to cases. A clever and ambitious boy was drilled into a pattern of loyalty to the Kabaka and also in a knowledge of the rights and duties of the different officials who made up the complex political structure of Buganda. Some of the pages of Mwanga, Mutesa I's successor, became the ministers and county chiefs of the new administration when the British Protectorate was proclaimed. It was natural that the Europeans should become the trainers of men in the new arts of government. Boys were 'given' to administrators and missionaries and these were mainly sons of chiefs who most frequently came into contact with the Europeans. Many a chief now in his last years of service, or already retired, got his start on the political ladder in this way. As boys, they were brought to the notice of European administrators who were likely to promote them and they also acquired the arts necessary to the new administration, such as typing, filing, account-keeping and inspection of the new welfare measures. Life-histories contain such statements as 'I followed the Europeans', or 'When the white man saw that I was obedient to him he promoted me'. Even today it will be seen from Table 4 that 40·7% of all Ganda chiefs had worked previously in the Protectorate Government service.

The first chiefs became wealthy since they had been given freehold right over large areas of land and were able to build up considerable fortunes from the sale of cotton before their traditional tribute labour was made illegal in 1927. Such chiefs adopted a quasi-European standard of living and housing, sent their children to missionaries' boarding-schools, which had, relatively speaking, high fees, where they learned to speak better English and thus became more fitted for their jobs as modern chiefs. From the three-county sample taken in 1951, fourteen out of 30 men who were acting as county or sub-county chiefs had been to King's College,

[1] Some chiefs may be both brothers of chiefs and sons of chiefs. It is difficult to indicate this fact in the table.

Budo; seven to the Mengo High School, six to St. Mary's College, Kisubi; and three to St. Henry's College, Kitovu.

These secondary school boys evidently tended to marry the sisters and daughters of men educated in the same way, as did the public school boys of this country. There are many Ganda proverbs about the duty of a man to support his brother-in-law, and chiefs when appointed may have secured posts for their sisters' husbands. It is equally likely, however, that sons and daughters of chiefs chose partners from those brought up as they had been. Nepotism is too simple a word to describe a situation such as this. Chiefs no doubt gave posts to their junior relatives and friends, according to the traditionally accepted patterns, but the kinship links between chiefs seem to have been mainly due to the emergence of a wealthy ruling class which had access to modern educational advantages.

The higher chiefs in Buganda are still drawn from the land-owning class, either because they are the sons of big landowners or because they have been energetic and ambitious and have managed to buy land. In fact, it would be true to say that the main ambition of most enterprising Ganda is the acquisition of land.

The following table shows that only 3% of the higher chiefs of Buganda have failed to acquire land, although 47% of the county chiefs have bought land as distinct from inheriting it and so have 25% of the sub-county chiefs.

	No. who own land	*No. who inherited*	*No. who bought land*	*Not known*
20 county chiefs	100%	53%	47%	—
128 sub-county chiefs	97%	47%	25%	28%

The data on the career histories of the elected council members show that 75% of these are landowners (47·5% inherited and 27·5% by purchase) and 25% are landless.

Table 4 given on p. 75 shows some of the main avenues of entry to the Buganda Government service. 41% of the higher chiefs worked previously for the Central Government and 35% for the Buganda Government. 18% acquired experience in European or Indian business undertakings and a very small number—only 14%—had worked in missionary institutions either as teachers or organizers.

The age composition of the higher chiefs shows naturally a rather marked difference between county and sub-county chiefs. 70% of

the county chiefs are 60 or over, while only 28% of the sub-county chiefs reach this age and the majority of them—52%—are between 50 and 60.

Does this system of selection of chiefs provide suitable training for local government work as Europeans conceive it, in terms either of European education or of experience on the job? It is generally assumed in colonial literature that traditional chiefs are an uneducated class and this charge is made against the chiefs of Buganda by the vernacular press. In fact, as we have already indicated, the standard of education of Buganda chiefs is considerably higher than that in the rest of the country.

Of all chiefs, 64% had attended a secondary school (65% of the county chiefs and 69% of the sub-county chiefs), while 15% of the county chiefs had either been to the University College of Makerere or overseas. These figures compare well with those relating to the elected members of the central Lukiko, which are as follows:

Education of elected members to Lukiko, 1953		*Education of County Chiefs*
Secondary	45%	65%
Primary	40%	10%
Makerere or overseas	10%	15%
Literate only	5%	10%[1]

The Buganda system of selection of chiefs cannot be described as democratic, but it has at least resulted in men of, relatively speaking, high education being drawn into the ranks of the Buganda Government service.

Parish Chiefs and Headmen. The lower chiefs of the Buganda hierarchy are plainly authorities of a quite different type from the higher, and they belong much more definitely to the traditional world. Parish chiefs are heavily burdened with the day-to-day work in direct contact with the peasants. Many have from three to five villages under them—an average of about 1,000 taxpayers. The parish chiefs preside over the parish council, which acts as an informal court of law to sift cases before they go to the statutory sub-county court. The lower chiefs are responsible for collecting taxes, enforcing health, educational and agricultural measures, apprehending criminals and bringing them to the sub-county court

[1] Figures collected by W. P. Tamukedde.

and sitting in this court in rotation for certain periods of the year Yet the parish chiefs receive very small salaries, i.e. Shs. 60/– a month with a few allowances, and they have no official houses or land attached to their office. They have no pensions.

Parish chiefs can be divided into two classes. The first are the ordinary chiefs who are under the direct orders of the sub-county and county chiefs and finally under the Katikiro. In theory these are appointed directly by the Kabaka, but actually names are sent up by the sub-county chief to the higher authorities, usually after discussion with the local people. Sometimes a big landowner, who owns several villages, suggests the name of the parish chief who he would like to administer the people on his estates. The second class of parish chiefs is made of up those on the Kabaka's estates which consist of 350 square miles scattered through the country, some in rural and some in urban areas. Here the Kabaka has his bailiff, who is usually also the parish chief. His position is more like the *mutongole* of old days. He has his parish council, which is similar to other councils, and in this respect he is under the sub-county and county chief, but it is to a certain extent a double administration, since the same man, in his capacity as a king's bailiff, may also have his estate council dealing with land matters and he is under a special official at the king's capital, the minister of the Kabaka's lands (*katikiro we byalo*).

Parish chiefs are much less mobile than the higher chiefs. Since they are not provided with houses they cannot easily move from their areas and they do not do so except in the case of chiefs on the Kabaka's lands or those serving in the part of Kampala under the administration of the Buganda Government.[1] It is generally stated that parish chiefs have little chance of rising vertically in the sense of becoming sub-county chiefs. However, the analysis of the total sample shows that 41% of the sub-county chiefs in 1953 actually started life as parish chiefs, and five of the county chiefs also came straight from the parish level. On examination these are seen to be men who have given long years of service to the Buganda Government. Three of them worked over twenty years slowly mounting the ladder until they reached their present position. The extent to which promotion from the lower ranks is as frequent now as it was in the earlier days is difficult to determine. The educational qualifications of a sub-county chief are higher, but the

[1] Parish chiefs on the Kabaka's land are supposed to be provided with houses.

fortunes to be made in farming and business are also greater and it is more difficult to get able men to enter the service as sub-county chiefs; hence it may be necessary to draw more largely on promoted parish chiefs.

Parish chiefs have on the whole a longer record of service than the higher chiefs. On the three-county sample of 31 parish chiefs the average length of service was twelve years, while some had been in office for as long as 31, 25 and seventeen years respectively. Since the parish chief has no pension he tends to 'die in harness', leaving his deputy to carry out the more active work during the last years of his rule. There are no figures available for the rate of dismissal of parish chiefs or the age of dismissal, or for the number of resignations that occur. It is our impression that, although peasants wish for the honour associated with parish chieftainship, they come to realize after a time that they can make much more money by farming their own lands if they are able to do so.

The career histories show that by far the greatest number of parish chiefs are landowners, using the term here to mean large landowners, e.g. owning over 50–100 acres. Ganda in fact think it impossible for a man to be a parish chief unless he is a landowner, although some such chiefs have bought land for the purpose. When asked why it is necessary to own land in order to get promoted to this type of post, the answer is because otherwise people would not respect the chief and he would not be rich enough to entertain properly. In fact, in view of the universal desire of the Ganda to own land, it is unlikely that a man of great initiative will remain without an estate, however small, of his own.

The figures collected in the three-county sample bear out the people's assertion. In Busiro, seven out of nine parish chiefs were landowners; in Buddu nine out of ten; and in Kyagwe five out of seven; that is to say, 23 out of 32, or 72%. Most of the remaining 28% were chiefs on the Kabaka's land where, of course, it is impossible for a man to become a landowner. Of the 23 landowning chiefs, 68% had inherited their land and 32% had bought it.

The figures show that in some areas the position of the parish chief corresponds somewhat to that of the traditional lord of the village (*omwami we kyalo*), which sometimes became hereditary. A certain number of parish chiefs inherited their posts from their fathers. This is not the case of a chieftainship passing down in a long line of agnatic descent. There are no local dynasties of this sort in Buganda, but it was not uncommon for a man who had

succeeded to his father's name, social status and land to be selected as parish chief for the same reason that his father was, viz., because he was the wealthiest man in the neighbourhood. Older men, in talking of their life-histories, will say, for instance: 'When I succeeded my father I became muruka chief as he was. I became a chief at eighteen years old.' It would perhaps be fair to say that in the more remote parts of Buganda the son will be put forward to succeed his father, unless there is some definite reason against it.

The figures from the three-county sample show that out of 32 chiefs, 31% were direct successors of their fathers; and in the two-county sample, of nineteen chiefs, 27% were appointments of this sort.

The extent to which parish chiefs belong to the ruling class is shown by the figures given in the two-county sample. Here it will be seen that 37% of the muruka chiefs in the two selected counties were brothers of chiefs, and 16% were brothers-in-law.

An examination of the case histories shows that apart from hereditary titles there are a number of recognized bases of selection for parish chiefs. Princes can act as lower chiefs, although debarred, as we have seen, from acting as higher chiefs. In Busiro, where there are many traditional royal estates, and where princes and princesses tend to congregate in order to live near the shrines of dead Ganda kings, a number of princes have positions as parish chiefs. They are probably selected either as successors to land-owning fathers or as important local personages. They may also be given preference by the Kabaka on account of royal blood, although it must be recognized that some of these princes are of very distant relationship to the king. Once they have succeeded, princes are probably given more respect than an ordinary chief. A ladder to promotion is personal service to the present or past Kabaka, or to a very big landowner who has reached a high position in the Ganda pyramid of authority, e.g. a retired minister of finance. Such chiefs will exercise authority on the Kabaka's land or on that of the individual landowner. Faithful service to the Buganda Government as a clerk or other office-worker is also a ladder to promotion. Usually, however, such a candidate has some asset of a traditional kind as well. He may be a businessman married into a royal family or into a county chief's family, or he may have been a demobilized soldier after the last war, who had local connections.

Of the 32 parish chiefs in the three-county sample details were obtained for 28. These show the following bases of selection:

Landowners	18
Kabaka's nominees	7
Large landowner's nominees	2
Promoted clerk	1

Some of these chiefs had previous experience in the European world. From those who gave data on this subject, the following information was obtained:

Artisans	2
Headmen	3
Cultivators	16
Cotton buyer	1
Clerks	3
Cook to Kabaka (traditional court office)	1
Shopkeeper	1
Teacher	1
Carpenter	1
Deputy to parish chief	1
Employees (Mission)	2
	32

As might be supposed, the lower chiefs are less educated than the higher. Of a total of nineteen chiefs in the two-county sample, one had reached senior secondary education; five had reached junior secondary; twelve, primary; and one had no European education. These figures therefore show that 31% of these lower chiefs had secondary education of one kind or another—a figure not equalled among any of the other tribes studied.

As regards age, the parish chiefs in the two-county sample have a wider age span than their seniors. 40% of those in Busiro are between 51 and 60 years and 30% of those in Buddu, but there are cases of very young men succeeding their fathers, perhaps at the age of eighteen or nineteen. In one instance, the son of a parish chief succeeded his father in his early twenties after having a junior secondary education. He then inherited land from his father, became a sub-county chief and after seven changes of office in that capacity was appointed to be a county chief.

In the light of all these facts we should ask, in conclusion, how far the traditional political ideology of the Ganda, centred as it was

on the power of the Kabaka, survives in modern times. Before the signing of the new Agreement, chiefs at all levels still declared that they had been chosen by the Kabaka for a certain post and would often say this with considerable pride. They would also explain on occasion that they could not refuse a particular job because their Kabaka had asked them to accept it. Chiefs did, and still do, the traditional acts of obeisance before the Kabaka on taking office, reciting the names and exploits of their clan ancestors and swearing to be loyal (cf. p. 51). As a result of over 50 years of British administration, the ideal of the chief as an efficient local government officer, administering justice and supervising social services certainly exists in the minds of many Ganda chiefs, as Fallers points out in the case of Busoga,[1] but the new pattern has never completely ousted the old conception of chieftainship as authority given as a reward for personal service to the monarch. After the institution of the new Appointments Board under the terms of the Buganda Agreement of 1955, much of the language used about the appointment and dismissal of chiefs resembled that used in Kagwa's histories of Buganda, and in some of the articles in the vernacular press there were actual quotations from these works. Thus, though the strong authority of the Kabaka and his chiefs made the early steps of the British Administration easy, the complex sentiments now attached to the Kabakaship and its many traditional trappings have certainly caused subsequent difficulties. The absence of hereditary chieftainship in Buganda made it apparently easy to introduce the concepts of a modern civil service, but the notion of promotion by royal or ministerial favour is as incompatible with bureaucratic ideas as is that of hereditary descent.

The centralized government of Buganda, which was so much admired in the early days of the Administration, and which was introduced into other tribal areas in Uganda, is also incompatible with the policy of democratizing councils at all levels and with the suggestion that ideas should come from the bottom to the top instead of orders from the top to the bottom. It remains to be seen what solution the Ganda find for this conflict in ideologies.

Finally, economic development and the land policy introduced by the Protectorate Government have resulted in the formation of a wealthy and, relatively speaking, educated class in Buganda, and posts as higher chiefs have mainly been filled by members of

[1] L. A. Fallers, *Bantu Bureaucracy*, 1956, p. 201.

this class. The Buganda Government has now the main responsibility for allocating scholarships for university education, in Uganda and overseas, and it is possible that men educated in this way will still be attracted by posts in the Kabaka's government, or alternatively that they will aspire to posts in the Protectorate Government, leaving the higher chieftainships vacant for persons promoted from the lower ranks of the service. The distinction in wealth between the higher and lower chiefs is particularly marked in Buganda, and parish chiefs who get low salaries, and who are no longer able to exact tribute or free labour from the villagers they are in charge of, would probably refuse to work at all if they were not responsive to the traditional sanctions and did not appreciate the honour associated with the post. The provision of higher salaries or better conditions of promotion for lower chiefs may prove to be one of the most important tasks which the Buganda Government has to face.

NOTE ON TABLES

Terminology.

The following tables show county chiefs as Class I, sub-county chiefs as Class II and parish chiefs as Class III.

The Sample.

The sample of county and sub-county chiefs was a total one—twenty and 128 respectively. The nineteen parish chiefs were a total sample for two counties only (Busiro and Buddu).

The Tables.

Percentages were worked out on the basis of Actual Totals, i.e. the number of chiefs in each class in the sample. The refusal rate was, however, low and there was little difference between Actual Totals and Totals.

In the case of Tables 4, 5 and 8 the categories are not mutually exclusive, since a man might have worked for the Central Government as well as for a mission for instance (Table 4); or as a clerk as well as a teacher (Table 5). He might also be a son of a chief as well as a brother-in-law of another chief (Table 8). Hence the figures do not necessarily total 100%. Where no data are available on specific points for certain chiefs, totals also cannot reach 100%.

THE GANDA

1. AGE

	Class of Chief			
	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
20–30	0	1·6	0	1·2
–40	5·0	17·2	5·3	14·4
–50	20·0	51·6	52·6	47·9
–60	70·0	28·1	31·6	33·5
–70	0	0·8	5·3	1·2
Actual Totals	20	128	19	167

2. EDUCATION

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
None	5·0	0	5·3	1·2
Primary	15·0	20·5	63·2	24·7
Secondary	65·0	68·5	31·6	63·9
Makerere/Overseas	15·0	11·0	0	10·2
Actual Totals	20	128	19	167

3. RELIGION

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
Protestant	50·0	59·4	47·4	56·9
Roman Catholic	40·0	35·1	42·0	36·6
Muslim	10·0	5·5	10·6	6·6
Pagan	0	0	0	0
Actual Totals	20	128	19	167

4. PREVIOUS EMPLOYERS

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
Central Govt.	55·0	42·2	15·8	40·7
African Local Government[1]	50·0	32·1	36·8	34·8
Mission	5·0	16·4	10·6	14·4
European/Asian	5·0	17·2	36·8	17·9
Self-employed[2]	0	33·6	53·0	31·8
Actual Totals	20	128	19	167

[1] 'African Local Government' refers to employment other than that of a chief.

[2] 'Self-employed' describes a trader or business man; it excludes peasant cultivators.

Class of Chief

5. PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of all
Clerk	0	52·4	42·1	44·9
Teacher	5·0	14·1	10·6	12·6
Inspector[1]	0	10·2	0	7·2
Police or Army	15·0	14·8	5·3	13·8
Self-employed	5·0	34·4	10·6	28·2
Labourer	0	5·5	0	4·2
Actual Totals	20	128	19	167

6. LENGTH IN PRESENT POST

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of all
0–5 years	65·0	88·4	10·6	76·7
6–10 ,,	5·0	8·6	26·5	12·6
11–15 ,,	0	3·1	15·8	4·2
16–20 ,,	0	0	26·5	3·0
21–25 ,,	0	0	21·2	2·4
Actual Totals	20	128	19	167

7. TOTAL SERVICE AS CHIEF

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of all
0–5 years	0	41·5	10·6	33·0
6–10 ,,	5·0	25·8	26·5	23·4
11–15 ,,	20·0	18·0	15·8	18·0
16–20 ,,	35·0	6·2	21·2	11·4
21–25 ,,	35·0	7·8	26·5	13·2
Actual Totals	20	128	19	167

8. RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER CHIEFS

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of all
Son of chief	55·0	37·5	26·5	38·4
Grandson of chief	0	3·9	0	3·0
Brother of chief	20·0	12·5	37·1	16·1
Brother-in-law of chief	35·0	14·1	15·8	16·8
Actual Totals	20	128	19	167

[1] 'Inspector' refers to any supervisory work, e.g. as a health or education inspector or a foreman.

Association Notes

In the case of the figures for Buganda a number of tests for association were made by G. Teoh and M. Southwold. The correlation between age and educational level is not significant at the 5% level. There is, however, a correlation between age and direct appointment to Class I and Class II chieftainships; that is to say, young men are more often appointed direct to Class II chieftainships, or, putting it in another way, those who rise from the Class III (parish) level are older men. There is also a significant correlation between educational level and direct appointment; that is to say, men with higher educational qualifications tend to be appointed direct to Class II posts.

There is, however, no significant association between religious affiliation and the level of chieftainship reached, or between the level of chieftainship and the fact of being the son of a chief.

There is no significant association between the level of chieftainship and previous training as a clerk, as is often alleged, but there is a positive correlation between being a son of a chief and receiving direct appointment to a Class II chieftainship, as distinct from rising from the ranks. Since, however, sons of chiefs are better educated than those chiefs who are not sons of chiefs (significant at 5% level) this may merely be a way of saying that educated men are more frequently appointed direct than uneducated.

Chapter III

THE SOGA[1]

Busoga adjoins Buganda on the east, the border between them being the Victoria Nile, and, like Buganda, its southern border is formed by Lake Victoria. Bunyoro lies to the north-west, while the swampy Lake Kyoga separates the Soga from the Teso and Lango peoples to the north. On the east, across the Mpologoma River, are the Gwere, Nyuli, Padhola and other small tribes of the present Bukedi District.

Busoga, like Buganda, may be divided into two zones of natural environment: the more fertile, better-watered elephant grass zone to the south along the lake shore; and the less fertile short grass zone to the north, where rainfall is less plentiful. In its pattern of agriculture, again, Busoga resembles Buganda, although in the development of a modern cash-crop economy Busoga has tended to lag somewhat behind. In the south the staple food is the plantain, supplemented by sweet potatoes, millet and cassava. Cotton was introduced during the first decade of the present century and now forms the major cash crop. Coffee, which has brought such prosperity to Ganda farmers, has only recently begun to achieve major significance. In the north, also, cotton is the major cash crop, but the plantain, owing to the more uncertain rainfall, is rather less important as a staple food and millet, sweet potatoes and cassava more proportionately so. Less affected by tsetse fly than the south and less favourable to agriculture, the north also supports a considerably larger cattle population.

Busoga also resembles Buganda in possessing a developing industrial complex. The growth of the town of Jinja, which is situated near the point where the Nile spills out of Lake Victoria,

[1] Written by L. A. Fallers from material collected in Busoga in 1950–2 in the first instance as a Fulbright scholar and later as a member of the staff of the East African Institute of Social Research.

has been greatly stimulated by the production of hydro-electric power through the Owen Falls dam. In time, Jinja may rival Kampala as a centre for secondary industry.

Thus Buganda and Busoga are closely similar from an economic point of view; both have had a prosperous cash-crop agriculture based, in the first instance, upon peasant production of cotton, and both have developing industrial centres. As will be seen, in Busoga, as in Buganda, cotton production provided an opportunity for traditional rulers to amass money wealth and to develop a new, more European, standard of living. Unlike their Ganda counterparts, however, Soga chiefs have never acquired freehold rights in land and consequently the relationship between political authority and property rights has developed rather differently in the two areas. Busoga has also, perhaps largely for this reason, failed to produce a class of farmers substantial enough to employ large numbers of hired labourers. The influx of immigrant workers, so characteristic of modern Buganda, has therefore been much less apparent in Busoga.

The African population of Busoga District in 1948 was 505,998, of whom Soga formed 80%.[1] Non-Soga are mostly independent peasant cultivators—immigrants from neighbouring districts where good land is less readily available—or employees of non-African enterprises around Jinja. Population is denser in the fertile, plantain-rich south and west, less dense in the more pastoral north and east.

In their historical and linguistic relations, the Soga appear to divide in two rather different ways. On the one hand, there is a marked difference in linguistic dialect between the north-east and the south-west. In the former area, the dialect spoken, known as 'Lupakoyo', is more closely related to the languages of the Nyoro to the north-west and the Gwere to the east; the south-eastern dialect, 'Lutenga', is closer to the language of the Ganda. On the other hand, the Soga traditionally divide themselves, and particularly their rulers, into two groups: those who migrated to Busoga from Bunyoro and those who came from the east or from islands in Lake Victoria. Most important among the alleged migrants from Bunyoro are the members of the Bushbuck (*baisengobi*) clan who provided dynasties of rulers in seven of the northern and eastern Soga kingdoms. These rulers are believed to share a

[1] *African Population of Uganda Territory: Geographical and Tribal Studies*, East African Statistical Department, 1950, p. 21.

common descent with the Bito, the ruling dynasty in Bunyoro and, indeed, much of northern Busoga was under Nyoro domination in the nineteenth century. At the time of Speke's visit in the middle of the century, northern Busoga was tributary to the Nyoro king while the south was dominated by Mutesa I of Buganda. The ruling dynasties of the more southern and western kingdoms mostly claim to be autochthonous or to have migrated from the east or south. The linguistic division does not, however, correspond closely with that between Nyoro-related and other dynasties. Bushbuck dynasties rule both Bulamogi, where Lupakoyo is spoken, and Kigulu, where the dominant dialect is Lutenga. Similarly, the Millet-chaff (*baiseigaga*) clan provides rulers in both Busiki (Lupakoyo-speaking) and Busambira (Lutenga-speaking). Finally, there is no close correspondence between the putative origins of ruling groups and those of their commoner subjects. Commoner clans with a wide variety of mythical origins tend to be scattered throughout Busoga.

As in the case of Buganda, there is no sign today of a caste system in which an endogamous group of 'Hima' pastoralists rules over a servile group of 'indigenous Bantu' agriculturalists. The only aristocratic group which would appear to have a non-Bantu origin is the Bushbuck clan. Although the Soga members of the group are unaware of, or even deny, any non-Bantu affiliation, they do relate themselves to the Bito rulers of Bunyoro, who in turn, apparently, are of Nilotic Lwoo origin. Hima pastoralists do exist in Busoga in substantial numbers, but these tend to be migratory cattle-herders, often from Ankole district, in the service of wealthy Soga.

Apart from traditional migrations, more recent conditions have not encouraged population stability in Busoga. During the nineteenth century it was a raiding-ground and battleground for Buganda and Bunyoro, the two dominant powers in the area; it also lay in the path of the caravans of Arab and Swahili ivory and slave traders who travelled between these powerful kingdoms and the coast. Shortly after the turn of the century, the area along the lake shore was severely affected by an outbreak of sleeping-sickness. Much of the littoral has remained depopulated during the past 50 years.

Busoga, unlike the other Interlacustrine Bantu societies in Uganda, does not form a single kingdom. According to the classification used in this book, it is a multi-kingdom tribe. During the

late nineteenth century there were some fifteen small states, varying widely in size, but each forming a distinct political unit. Even where the ruling groups in neighbouring states belonged to the same clan, this did not necessarily form the basis for political linkage; relationships of hostility or alliance developed quite independently of such considerations. There was no feeling, for example, that the states ruled by Bushbuck dynasties were bound together as a political 'family', even though the rulers themselves were believed to share an ultimate common descent. Political boundaries appear to have fluctuated a good deal with the ebb and flow of military fortune. What was an independent kingdom at one time might at another time form part of a larger kingdom. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the Soga kingdoms appear to have been dominated rather completely by Buganda and Bunyoro and it seems likely that had the British not intervened they would have been swallowed completely by their giant neighbours.

But although political boundaries were fluid and although kingdoms varied widely in size, there was a common characteristic political structure. The apex was formed by the ruler and the lineage of the royal clan within which his position was hereditary. Succession appears originally to have passed from brother to brother but to have changed within the last 100 years to a father-to-son pattern. As in the other Bantu kingdoms of Uganda, rulers had important ritual functions; living rulers might act ritually on behalf of the nation and the cult of the royal ancestors was a national cult, not one which pertained only to the royal kinship group. In some Soga kingdoms, as in Buganda, this cult was centred upon shrines containing the decorated jaw-bones of dead kings.

Subordinate to the ruler were palace officials and territorial governors of two types: some were princes (*balangira*), sons of the current ruler or descendants of earlier rulers' sons who had acquired hereditary rights to office; others were commoner clients (*bakungu*) of the ruler, appointed and subject to dismissal by him. Princes and commoner clients in turn ruled over villages and sub-villages whose heads, again, might be either princes or commoners, either hereditary or appointed by their superiors. The diagram on p. 83 shows the traditional political hierarchy.

The internal structure of each Soga kingdom thus resembled that of such larger kingdoms as Buganda and Bunyoro. As in Buganda, the authorities subordinate to the kinglet consisted, on

the one hand, of commoner governors and fief-holders depending directly upon his favour and, on the other, of princes with hereditary claims based upon royal birth. Princes were often able to pass on to their heirs authority over the areas under their control. Commoner clients might also do this in practice, although the belief in fundamental inequality between royal and commoner was sufficient to prevent the explicit recognition of hereditary right in such cases, particularly at higher levels. A commoner client chief in charge of a major subdivision of the kingdom would seldom be able to pass on his position to his heir, since this would seriously dilute the king's authority, but commoner village headmen appear to have done so quite regularly in practice, in spite of the king's theoretical right to appoint them. It would appear that in the nineteenth century princes held a rather stronger position in Busoga than in Buganda. In the little Soga kingdoms, princes often controlled major areas as a result of grants by earlier kings to sons who did not succeed to the kingship. In Buganda, princes were excluded from the higher offices and sometimes were even 'liquidated' in the interest of protecting the unique authority of the Kabaka. Unlike Buganda, the Soga kingdoms never developed military organizations separate from the political hierarchy; armies were never more than temporary militia formations. Except for the kinglets, who were in one sense heads of royal clans, clan heads were rather less powerful than their Ganda counterparts. Although Soga clans were, like Ganda clans, segmented internally into lineages of varying scale, they were very much smaller and much more numerous. As in Buganda, there were clan councils with authority over succession and inheritance.

Changes introduced under British administration

The British East Africa Company administered Busoga from 1892 until 1894, when the Protectorate was established. In 1895, Busoga was declared a district separate from Buganda, under whose control it had increasingly fallen during the preceding decade when the Ganda, with British help, were expanding at the expense of their neighbours. Rather more pronounced changes were made in indigenous political arrangements than were found necessary in Buganda, in part because Ganda institutions were taken as a model for other tribes absorbed into the Protectorate.

The first innovation, and one which met with surprisingly little

BUSOGA

Traditional System			*Modern System*		
Number	*Unit*	*Ruler*	*Number*	*Unit*	*Ruler*
	No centralized kingdom	No central authority.		Busoga Central Administration. Non-traditional.	President of Busoga Council (*Kyabazinga*). Non-traditional. Elected. Salaried.
Fluctuating number, say 15	Petty kingdom (*ensi*)	Kinglet (*omwami*). Royal clan, usually hereditary.	8	County (*saza*), corresponding roughly with petty kingdoms.	Chief (*omwami owe saza*) Nominated by Busoga Council. Salaried.
Fluctuating	*Districts*: (*a*) Princedom (*twale ya mulangira*); (*b*) Client Chiefdom (*twale ya mukungu*)	(*a*) Prince (*mulangira*). Hereditary, originally appointed by kinglet.	52	Sub-county (*gombolola*), corresponding roughly with princedoms and chiefdoms.	Chief (*omwami owa gombolola*). Nominated by Busoga Council. Salaried.
Numerous		(*b*) Chief (*mukungu*). Appointed by kinglet.		Parish (*muruka*). Non-traditional.	Chief (*omwami owe muruka*). Appointed by county chief and Council. Salaried.
Numerous	Village (*mutala*) / Village / Village	Headman (*omwami owe mutala*).	1200	Village (*mutala*). Traditional.	*Omwami owe mutala.* Hereditary. Unsalaried.
Numerous	Sub-village (*kisoko*) / Sub-village / Sub-village	Small headman (*omwami owe kisoko*).	Numerous	Sub-village (*kisoko*). Traditional.	*Omwami owe kisoko.* Hereditary. Unsalaried.

resistance, was the amalgamation of the many small kingdoms into a single tribal political unit. In 1906 an able and experienced Ganda chief and general, Semei Kakunguru, was appointed paramount chief over a council of Soga kings and chiefs. Other Ganda chiefs were brought in as advisers to Soga kings. In 1918 a Native Administration headquarters was built at Bugembe, near Jinja, and in 1919 one of the Soga kings became President, Kakunguru having departed some five years earlier. Gradually the other Ganda chiefs departed, leaving their Soga trainees in charge. The Protectorate Government, which had confirmed the positions of kings in Buganda, Bunyoro and Ankole, had by this time become disenchanted with hereditary monarchies for purposes of administration. The position of President, later changed to Isebantu Kyabazinga, 'the father of the people who unites them', was consequently never made hereditary, although powerful factions among the Soga have at various times favoured such a course. Since 1949, the Kyabazinga has been elected every three years, the Governor retaining the right to review the results of elections.

Unification was also promoted by a system of representative councils culminating in a district council. In 1938 persons outside the chiefly hierarchy were included and in 1949, under the African Local Governments Ordinance, the numbers of these 'unofficial' members were increased to a majority at each level of council.

The second great change was the adoption of Ganda political units. Although he ruled for only eight years, Kakunguru's forcefulness, his deep conviction of the superiority of the Ganda, and the support which he received from the British, served to implant the Ganda system so firmly that Soga have difficulty in recalling earlier conditions. The larger of the Soga kingdoms became *saza* (counties) on the Ganda model, while smaller ones were amalgamated as *gombolola* (sub-counties). For example, Bugabula, Luuka, Bulamogi, Bugweri and Bukoli—all former kingdoms—became counties, while Bukono was joined with Busiki to form a sub-county within the new Busiki county and Busambira was similarly amalgamated with Kigulu. For a time the three largest of the southern kingdoms—Butembe, Bunya and Bunyuli—became, with the addition of smaller neighbouring kingdoms, county units, but with the depopulation of the area by sleeping-sickness these were in turn amalgamated to form a single county of Butembe-Bunya. The larger kingdoms which had become counties were divided into sub-counties, often along the boundaries of the old

subdivisions held by princes and client-chiefs. In 1949, counties varied in population from 35,180 to 148,663; the population of sub-counties averaged 10,120.[1]

Following modern Ganda practice, a *muruka* (parish) unit with a chief was introduced between the sub-county and the village levels. Within the parish, the traditional villages and sub-villages survived.

The third Ganda innovation introduced by Kakunguru can hardly have been intended by British administrators, though doubtless it was accepted by them. This was the division of each chief's area into his *bwesengeze*, or personal estate, and his *butongole*, or area of official jurisdiction. From his personal estates he collected tribute, at first in kind and in labour, later in money, largely on his own behalf; from his official areas he collected largely on behalf of his superiors.[2] In allotting personal estates, Kakunguru seems to have attempted to secure for the Soga hierarchy sources of income similar to those which Ganda chiefs received from their new *mailo* estates as well, of course, as binding them to himself in personal loyalty. The system, did, indeed, enable the Soga chiefs to enrich themselves and hence to develop for themselves and their children a new style of life including many European elements, both material and non-material. Freehold tenure was never introduced and the *bwesengeze* estates were ultimately abolished, but the latter's existence during the crucial early period of European control permitted the establishment of a wealthy chiefly group similar to—in fact self-consciously modelled after—that which appeared in Buganda. In 1924, for example, it was estimated by Protectorate Government officials that the chief of Bugabula County had received some £3,500 in tribute and rebate on taxes collected for the Protectorate.

In conformity with Protectorate Government policy, personal tribute was successively regularized, reduced and abolished in favour of a Native Administration tax. In 1922 it became legal for the peasant to commute his tribute labour to a payment of ten shillings in cash. In 1926, *bwesengeze* estates were abolished, tribute was reduced and salaries were introduced for county, sub-county

[1] *African Population of Uganda Territory: Geographical and Tribal Studies*, East African Statistical Department, 1950.

[2] The terms *bwesengeze* and *butongole* referred to rather different concrete phenomena in traditional Buganda and in Kakunguru's Busoga, but the words themselves and the basic ideas underlying them are undoubtedly of Ganda origin.

and parish chiefs. In 1936, tribute disappeared entirely, chiefs henceforth being compensated entirely by salary. By this process, most chiefs' incomes were reduced, but their salaries were sufficient to enable them to maintain the distinct style of life developed during the period of private estates.

Along with the change from tribute to salary went the elimination of hereditary succession to chieftainship. This was a necessary part of the conversion of a number of petty kingdoms under hereditary rulers into counties with appointed chiefs within a single tribal polity; it was carried out gradually over a period of some 30 years. As early as 1906 a commoner was appointed to a county chieftainship, while as late as 1930 the heir to the rulership of Bugabula was confirmed as county chief. The latter was, however, the last of his kind; as hereditary rulers died, they were replaced by the Administration with chiefs having no hereditary claims. In 1934, most counties were served by men of local royal descent. By 1938 these had been transferred about so that none was serving in his own area. By 1952, all hereditary appointees had retired, either voluntarily or otherwise. Loyalty to hereditary rulers is still strong enough in two or three areas to provide substantial opposition to appointed chiefs. In one county, the hereditary ruler, who lives in considerable traditional state—without Government recognition—appointed his own subordinate chiefs to form a shadow government parallel to the official hierarchy. The Kyabazinga, though formally elected, has so far always been chosen from among the traditional rulers.

The hereditary principle was much less important at the lower levels. Although some sub-counties corresponded to small traditional kingdoms or to hereditary princes' domains, hereditary claims to office at this level seem to have disappeared during the early years of British control, perhaps during the time of Kakunguru. The parishes, which were introduced by Kakunguru, had, of course, never been hereditary.

The development of the parish, sub-county and county chiefs into appointed and salaried officials was not carried to the level of the village and sub-village headmen, who formed the base of the system. With the disappearance of the kings, princes and fief-holders at whose pleasure many of them had held office under the old system, they became, prince and commoner alike, firmly and uniformly hereditary. They did not acquire freehold rights over the land, as many Ganda chiefs of quite modest rank did as a result

of the distribution of *mailo* estates, but they controlled allocation of land to peasants and they could collect tribute. Thus they exercised an authority which, if it was not great in terms of the numbers of the persons bound by it, was none the less more traditional, because more personal, than that exercised by the parish, sub-county and county chiefs, who were rapidly being converted into salaried civil servants. The headmen saw this and resisted the extension of the civil service pattern to themselves. In 1936, when tribute was finally abolished in favour of a tax out of which salaries were to be paid, they refused to accept salaries on the ground that this would destroy their traditional, locally-rooted authority and convert them into paid servants of the Government, subject to transfer and dismissal. Although tribute was thus lost, other sources of income remained. Headmen had traditionally received a token payment from each new peasant tenant in recognition of their authority. With the rise in land values which accompanied the development of cash-crop agriculture, headmen were able to convert this traditional payment into a substantial sum of money. Although frowned upon by the Protectorate Government, the headmen's right to exact such entry money is firmly embedded in the customary law and is enforceable in the courts.

Thus it would not be an exaggeration to say that while the hereditary principle was being progressively eliminated by Government policy at the county level, the new situation actually strengthened hereditary succession at the level of the village and sub-village headman. Today, upon the death of a headman, his position passes to an heir chosen by the council of his lineage-mates. If he is appointed to a parish, sub-county or county chieftainship or if he enters some other occupation which takes him away from his village, he will, like the Ganda *mailo* landlord, appoint a deputy or steward to act for him. If he remains in his village, as most do, and looks after the village or sub-village himself, he may exercise an authority which is effectively greater than that of the parish chief who is formally his superior but who lacks his local connections. Sub-county chiefs, realizing this, sometimes by-pass the rather ineffectual parish chief and deal directly with the village headman. Although formally not members of the African Local Government (as the former Native Administration is now called), headmen are essential to its successful operation. In addition to allocating land, they collect taxes and arbitrate large numbers of

petty disputes which, if they were not settled locally, would clog the African Local Government courts.

Thus land rights and political authority remain associated at the village level, but have been divorced at higher levels. In Buganda, in contrast, the link between land ownership and authority was formally severed at all levels by the introduction of freehold tenure in 1900.

To recapitulate, today parish, sub-county and county chiefs are salaried, transferable and (except for parish chiefs) pensionable officials. County and sub-county chiefs are appointed by the district commissioner with the advice of the Standing Committee of the district council. Parish chiefs are appointed by the county councils, subject to confirmation by the Standing Committee of the district council. The Kyabazinga and a new senior official, the Secretary General, are elected by vote of all sub-county councils, subject to confirmation by the Governor.[1] Village and sub-village headmen are hereditary, successors being chosen from among their sons by lineage councils. These are the formal procedures; the mechanisms of selection and their results may now be examined in more detail.

Career histories examined

First of all, to what extent can it be said that a mobile local government civil service has been created? To answer this question, career data were obtained for the eight county and 49 of the 52 sub-county chiefs who were in service in 1952.[2] From these data it is clear that, as in Buganda, county and sub-county chiefs form a single group. All county chiefs had been promoted from sub-county rank; none had been appointed directly to county rank. Three of the eight county chiefs had risen from the parish level, while the other five had been appointed initially to sub-county rank. In the case of the sub-county chiefs, 33 of the 49 for whom data were available on this point, or 67%, had first served as parish chiefs; the remaining sixteen (33%) had been directly appointed to sub-county rank.

The mobility of chiefs from post to post is very considerable. One county chief who had been in service for between 31 and 35

[1] A third senior official, the *omuwanika* (treasurer) was in 1952 serving an indefinite term, having been appointed by the district commissioner some years before.

[2] These career data were kindly made available by the district commissioner, Busoga.

years had served in nine different posts—one at the parish level, six at the sub-county level and two at the county level. Another county chief who had served for between 36 and 40 years had been moved seven times. The 49 chiefs for whom data on this point were available had served in an average of four different posts. Nor had they served long in their most recent posts. Of 57 for whom there were data, only one had served more than five years in his present post.

Perhaps surprisingly, the more lowly parish chiefs seemed to shift about even more than their seniors. Of all the parish chiefs in service in five counties in May, 1952, 47% had served less than two and a half years in their present offices. In this respect, the Soga parish chief differs strikingly from his Ganda counterpart, who tends to be much more stable. In part, no doubt, this is due to the more frequent exercise of the power to transfer by European administrators in Busoga, but there is also a difference in the nature of parish chieftainship in the two areas. Whereas the Ganda parish chief is a locally-rooted, rather squire-like figure, usually a landlord, the Soga parish chief occupies a more artificial and ineffectual position midway between the traditional hereditary headman and the more powerful senior chiefs. Mobility among parish chiefs, however, is often confined to their counties of birth. In one county in 1952, for example, eight of the 29 parish chiefs had been born in the county. In the same county, five of the six county headquarters officials (tax clerks, court clerks and the like) and all the *askari* (messenger-policemen) were local men. It is the county council which appoints at this level and so a man tends to enter the African Local Government service in his home county.

Length of service at pensionable (county and sub-county) rank varies widely. In 1952, four of the eight county chiefs had served between eleven and fifteen years, one between sixteen and twenty years, one between 31 and 35 years and two between 36 and 40 years. The sub-county chiefs, of course, had served for shorter periods; of 49, six (12%) had served for less than five years, five (10%) between six and ten years, while none had served for more than 35 years. Related to length of service is the question of forced retirement and dismissal. It is axiomatic among the Soga that chiefs seldom retire or resign voluntarily, but chieftainship in Busoga involves conflict. It is a temptation-ridden calling in which relatively few survive to die in office or to retire honourably at an advanced age.

During the decade 1941–51, the *Uganda Gazette* recorded 24 retirements, seven dismissals, one resignation and one death in office among Soga county and sub-county chiefs. It may be assumed that many of the 'retirements' were in fact dismissals for behaviour which in the eyes of the administration constituted corruption or inefficiency.

We have noted above that some chiefs rise to pensionable rank from parish chieftainship, while others are able to achieve direct appointment at the sub-county level. Those who receive direct appointments are more likely to have held Protectorate Government jobs or to have been teachers, both positions in which their abilities have a greater chance of coming to the notice of influential Europeans. They are also better educated than their colleagues who rise from parish chieftainship. Of the 21 county and sub-county chiefs in 1952 who had never served as parish chiefs, 15 (71%) had reached standard VII, while of the 36 who had served as parish chiefs, only thirteen (36%) had reached this standard. Directly appointed chiefs, no doubt partly because of their educational advantages, are more likely to speak English and to have adopted a more European style of life—characteristics which aid them in their relations with Europeans. Unlike Buganda, however, most senior chiefs in Busoga still rise from parish chieftainship.

We may next turn to the question of how far traditional bases of selection have survived 'under cover' within a system ostensibly based upon free selection and promotion. Three bases of selection which, from the point of view of the civil service ideal, are supposed to be irrelevant, may be distinguished: (a) direct descent (b) membership in the royal clans which traditionally furnished kings and princes, and (c) 'concealed' kinship ties other than direct lineal descent—maternal, affinal and collateral ties—of the sort which traditionally often existed between patron and client.

Selection by direct lineal descent has been explicitly abolished by the Protectorate Government, although sons of traditional rulers and chiefs are not, of course, excluded from chieftainship provided they possess the necessary qualifications. Of the 47 serving pensionable chiefs in 1952 for whom data were available on this point, four were sons of traditional rulers, three were paternal grandsons or nephews of rulers and eleven were sons of commoner county or sub-county chiefs. Thus eighteen, or 38%, were sons, nephews or grandsons of chiefs or rulers. Only one, however, was in charge of the actual area where his father had ruled. As was

mentioned earlier, the Kyabazinga has thus far always been elected from among the traditional rulers.

Similarly, in spite of its formal exclusion as a criterion for selection, membership in one of the royal clans still tends to be associated with county and sub-county chieftainship. Thus among 57 chiefs in 1952, 21 (one county chief, twenty sub-county chiefs), or 37%, were members of royal clans. This is a much higher proportion than exists in the general population. Membership in a royal clan does not, however, confer a greater chance of being appointed directly to sub-county rank. Among the chiefs just referred to, 42% of those promoted from parish chieftainship and only 29% of those appointed directly to pensionable rank were royals. Direct appointment, apparently, is, if anything, more characteristic of the able, educated commoner.

Among the parish chiefs from among whom most senior chiefs are promoted, there is the same tendency for members of royal clans to be, in comparison with the general population, 'over-represented'. In one sample of nineteen parish chiefs, six (32%) were royal, while in another sample of 29, ten (34%) were members of such clans.

It has been shown that in Buganda chiefs tend to be interrelated through affinal, maternal and collateral kinship—that, in fact, there is a chiefly class. The term 'concealed kinship' was used to describe kinship ties of these kinds. In Busoga, too, chiefs tend to be linked by 'concealed kinship', as is shown by a group of ten county and sub-county chiefs who were found to be interrelated through kinship ties of various kinds.[1] The 'core' of this group of chiefs consisted of three of the traditional royal lineages. Three chiefs were actual members of the royal lineages, but seven others were linked to them as sisters' sons or affines. No doubt many other such ties exist among chiefs for whom there are no comparable data. As in Buganda, chiefs' sons tend to attend the same schools and to marry each others' sisters. The modern desire to have an 'educated wife' thus reinforces the traditional pattern in which a commoner chief often married his royal patron's daughter.

At the level of the village and sub-village headmen, as has been mentioned, traditional modes of selection remain the rule. Today's headmen are the sons of men who were princely or commoner headmen under the traditional political system. Genealogical relations among headmen were traced in two villages in southern Bulamogi

[1] L. A. Fallers, *Bantu Bureaucracy*, 1956, p. 191.

and in three villages in Busambira, a small traditional kingdom now incorporated in Kigulu County.[1] Of 27 village and sub-village headmen in these five villages, twenty (74%) were members of the royal clans in their respective kingdoms. Six (22%) were descendants of commoner clients of one of the rulers or of local princes and one of these had married a princess—a brother's daughter of the most recent ruler. The remaining headman was in charge of the land of the Roman Catholic mission and was an appointee of the priests.

Such, then, are the patterns of selection of chiefs and headmen in present-day Busoga. Modern chieftainship requires education and a familiarity with Western ideas and products and the mechanisms of selection which operate in Busoga do seem to result in the better-educated men being appointed to senior posts. On the other hand, it is, somewhat paradoxically, this educational requirement which, among other factors, tends to maintain in office the descendants and kinsmen of the chiefs and rulers of the past. Although scholarships for poor students are becoming progressively more available, in the past, certainly, it has been the children and relatives of chiefs and rulers who have been able to afford the requisite education. Educational standards among chiefs are not as high in Busoga as in Buganda, but the pattern is clearly similar. Of the 55 county and sub-county chiefs in service in 1952, for whom data were available, 29 (53%) had attended primary school, 22 (40%) secondary school and four (7%) Makerere College.

Kinship with a chief or ruler also confers other advantages. Service as a clerk in the Protectorate Government or as a clerk or parish chief in the African Local Government is the principal way of acquiring the administrative experience necessary for chieftainship. As we have seen, in the lower ranks of the African Local Government appointments are made by county councils—bodies open to influence by powerful persons. By placing sons and kinsmen in such positions, chiefs are able to start them on the road to chiefly appointment.

It remains only to note that chieftainship is still attractive enough to call forth the energies of the able, though the newer professions, such as medicine and the law, are tending to overshadow it in the ambitions of young men. Aside from the gratifications which power itself provides, chiefly salaries are attractive. A county chief in 1952 earned between £270 and £600 a year, together with an official house, a pension upon retirement and

[1] L. A. Fallers, op. cit., p. 161.

other perquisites of office. Sub-county chiefs earned between £90 and £213 a year, with similar conditions. Parish chiefs, on the other hand, were very poorly paid, earning only £28 16s. to £87 2s. a year, with neither official house nor pension. This low rate of remuneration, together with the parish chief's equivocal position in the hierarchy and the tendency to appoint directly to sub-county rank, thus narrowing the parish chiefs' chances for promotion, have made it increasingly difficult to attract able men at this level.

To conclude with a comparison of the situation in Buganda and Busoga: (a) the Soga are a smaller tribe than the Ganda (half a million as against nearly a million). Their contact with Europeans has been less extensive; their economy is less developed and on the whole they have a lower standard of living; (b) Buganda was already centralized on the arrival of the British, while the numerous petty kingdoms of which Busoga was composed had to be amalgamated and built up into the present political unit known as Busoga. In Buganda, the traditional king with his court and many traditional officials were maintained at the top of the pyramid, and their position was guaranteed by the 1900 Treaty. In contrast, the greatest innovation in Busoga has been in a sense at the top rather than at the bottom, since the British introduced, first of all, a paramount chief, and later a President of a new Busoga Council. This latter official has been viewed by the European officials solely as an officer of the local government, and according to recent provisions he must be elected afresh every three years. The Soga, on the other hand, have constantly asked for him to be turned into an hereditary monarch resembling the Ganda Kabaka and have seemed to feel the need for a tribal figurehead. (c) In both societies, many of the territorial chiefs were mobile before the coming of the British. In Buganda most of these office-holders were client chiefs, the remainder being princes, clan heads and fief-holders, some hereditary and some not. The principle of the transferable chiefs remained, with British administrators influencing appointments and transfers. In Busoga the chiefs of the present counties were kinglets and hence the most important step in implementing Protectorate Government policy was the elimination of the hereditary basis of appointment to county chieftainships. Here, as in Buganda, the territorial chiefs at the present sub-county level were mainly client chiefs and the principle of a mobile civil service chief was easily accepted; all the higher chiefs in both areas are now mobile. (d) In Buganda the parish chief represents the traditional local leader

and although he is a statutory and salaried official of the Buganda Government, he is selected from among local landowners. Many such chiefs live in something like the traditional way and until recently some have tended to pass on their offices to their sons. In Busoga, on the other hand, the parish is a new unit introduced by the Europeans at the beginning of the century, and the selection of parish chieftainships is carried out by county councils. Beneath them are village and sub-village headmen without statutory recognition who are men of locally based authority; these distribute land, mediate in disputes and carry out much of the work of local government. (e) In Buganda the *mailo* system created a class of wealthy landowner chiefs, who were able to increase their incomes by the rent which they exacted from tenants on their land. The sons of these first landowners have tended to enter the ranks of the Buganda civil service. However, it is also possible for an ambitious peasant to buy land and even to become a big landowner. If he develops his coffee plantations, he may become much more wealthy than the chief himself. In Busoga, chiefs also became moderately wealthy at the beginning of the century through tribute labour used in the production of cotton on the personal estates issued to them by their Ganda overlord, Kakunguru. Freehold land, however, has not been introduced so that the peasant farmer cannot easily rise in the social scale by acquiring new land. At the same time, headmen and sub-headmen have acquired hereditary rights over land allocation and though they have refused government salaries, they are able to exact entry money from new tenants.

NOTE ON TABLES

Terminology.

The following tables show county chiefs as Class I, sub-county chiefs as Class II, and parish chiefs as Class III.

The Sample.

Data were obtained for eight county chiefs—a total sample—and for 49 out of 52 sub-county chiefs. The 22 parish chiefs were chosen from four sub-counties.

The Tables.

Percentages were worked out on the basis of Actual Totals, i.e. the number of chiefs in each class in the sample. The refusal rate was, however, low and there was little difference between Actual Totals and Totals.

In the case of Tables 4 and 5 the categories are not mutually exclusive, since a man might have worked for the Central Government as well as for a mission for instance (Table 4); or as a clerk as well as a teacher (Table 5). Hence the figures do not necessarily total 100%. Where no data are available on specific points for certain chiefs, totals also cannot reach 100%.

THE SOGA

1. AGE

	Class of Chief			
	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
20–29 years	0	0	9·1	2·5
30–39 ,,	12·5	28·6	50·0	32·9
40–49 ,,	25·0	61·2	31·8	49·5
50–59 ,,	37·5	6·1	4·5	8·9
60 and over	12·5	0	4·5	2·5
Actual Totals	8	49	22	79

2. EDUCATION

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
None	0	0	0	0
Primary	37·5	53·1	90·9	63·7
Secondary	37·5	38·8	9·1	31·2
Makerere/Overseas	14·3	6·1	0	5·2
No data	12·5	2·0		
Actual Totals	8	49	22	79

3. RELIGION

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
Protestant	100	85·8	86·4	87·5
Roman Catholic	0	8·2	9·1	7·6
Muslim	0	6·1	4·5	5·1
Actual Totals	8	49	22	79

4. PREVIOUS EMPLOYERS

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
Central Govt.	75·0	36·8	18·2	35·5
African Local Govt.[1]	87·5	77·5	45·5	69·7
Missions	37·5	14·3	4·5	13·9
European/Asian	0	8·2	0	5·1
Self-employed[2]	0	0	4·5	1·3
Actual Totals	8	49	22	79

[1] 'African Local Govt.' refers to employment other than that of a chief.

[2] 'Self-employed' describes a trader or business man; it excludes peasant cultivators.

5. PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT

	Class of Chief			
	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
Clerk	62·5	53·0	22·7	45·5
Inspector[1]	0	28·6	18·2	22·8
Army/Police	37·5	10·2	9·1	12·6
Clergy/Teacher	37·5	12·2	0	11·4
Skilled worker	0	4·1	13·6	6·3
Domestic servant	12·5	0	0	1·3
Actual Totals	8	49	22	79

6. LENGTH IN PRESENT POST

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of I & II*
0–1 years	50·0	40·8	—	42·1
2–3 ,,	37·5	38·8	—	38·6
4–5 ,,	12·5	18·4	—	17·5
16–20 ,,	0	2·0	—	1·8
Actual Totals	8	49	—	57

7. TOTAL SERVICE AS CHIEF

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	% I & II
0–5 years	0	12·2	—	10·5
6–10 ,,	0	10·2	—	8·8
11–15 ,,	50·0	36·8	—	38·6
16–20 ,,	12·5	26·6	—	24·6
21–25 ,,	0	4·1	—	3·5
26–30 ,,	0	8·2	—	7·0
31–35 ,,	12·5	2·0	—	3·5
36–40 ,,	25·0	0	—	3·5
Actual Totals	8	49	—	57

8. DESCENT

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
Royal clans[2]	12·5	40·8	31·6	34·2
Commoner	87·5	59·2	68·4	62·0
Actual Totals	8	49	22	79

[1] 'Inspector' refers to supervisory work, e.g. as a health, agricultural or education inspector or a foreman.

[2] All traditional royal clans of the component kingdoms of Busoga are included.

Association tests

There is no positive association between age and education for all chiefs but some association in the case of county and sub-county chiefs. The tests on association between age and previous employment, age and direct appointment to I and II level chieftainships, royal descent and direct appointment to higher chieftainships were not significant at the 5% level.

Chapter IV

THE NYORO[1]

The present Bunyoro kingdom in western Uganda lies roughly south-east of Lake Albert and north-west of the kingdom of Buganda. The administrative district with which it is coterminous contains a land area of 4,735 square miles, about 2,350 of which are available for African occupation, the rest being taken up by the Murchison Falls National Park and by uninhabited swamp and forest. Most of the country lies at an altitude of between 3,000 and 4,000 feet and is fertile and well watered, but it falls to undulating savannah in the north, and descends abruptly in the west to the dry Lake Albert coast. In most of the district rainfall averages 45 inches, well distributed over three-quarters of the year.

The African population of Bunyoro is about 110,000, about a quarter of whom are immigrants from other tribes. But there are 50,000 more Nyoro in the adjoining Mubende district, formerly a part of Bunyoro but now in Buganda, where they outnumber the Ganda by seven to two. In Bunyoro there are on average 24 people to the square mile, far fewer than in the neighbouring kingdoms of Toro, Ankole and Buganda. But most Nyoro live in relatively closely-settled areas (though not in compact villages) where population density is much higher.

Bunyoro was traditionally a pastoral country, but disease and war have wiped out its former herds, and there are now only about 6,000 head of cattle, most of them in one or two favoured corners of the district. This gives a cattle-to-human ratio of about one to eighteen, compared with the Protectorate average of one to two. Today the typical Nyoro is a small farmer, cultivating from four

[1] Written by J. H. M. Beattie. The research upon which this essay is based was mostly carried out between 1951 and 1953, during which time the author held a studentship from the Treasury Committee for Studentships in Foreign Languages and Cultures.

to eight acres and owning some goats and chickens and perhaps a few sheep. He grows finger millet (still regarded as the traditional staple), sweet potatoes, cassava and various kinds of beans and peas. He also cultivates plantains, mainly for beer-making. He grows cotton and sometimes tobacco for sale, and in a good year these crops may earn him from £7 to £10, and sometimes more. (It is of comparative interest that a Ganda peasant's annual income has been estimated to average about £50 to £100.) Some Nyoro are shopkeepers or itinerant traders, but most trade is still in Indian hands. In 1953 most adult male Nyoro paid local and Central Government taxes amounting to about Shs. 26/– a year.

Though the Nyoro are on the whole less prosperous than the Ganda, they are not badly off by East African standards; most people have some good clothes, there are innumerable bicycles, and several Nyoro own cars or lorries. The Hoima-Toro bus service is owned and operated by Nyoro. There are plenty of motorable roads in the kingdom, and off these roads there is an intricate network of footpaths. There are European-supervised hospitals in the two towns of Hoima and Masindi, and dispensaries at points throughout the district. Education is almost wholly in the hands of the Native Anglican Church (derived from the Church Missionary Society) and the Roman Catholic White Fathers. Schooling has to be paid for; fees start at about six shillings a year and increase with the standard reached. Literacy is estimated at between 30% and 40% over the age of ten. There are about 60 schools in the district, four of which provide secondary education, that is, beyond the sixth standard.

Bunyoro is almost wholly an African area. Most of its 800 Indians are retail traders. About 29 square miles are alienated in a handful of non-native estates, all but one of which are owned by Indians. There are about 140 Europeans; most of them are employees of the Railways and Harbours Administration, which handles traffic between Masindi Port and Butiaba and across Lake Albert. The Protectorate Administration is represented by a district commissioner, stationed at Hoima (the capital), and two or three assistants. There are also a few European departmental officers in the district. The Bunyoro Native Government, with the Mukama at its head, consists of a central secretariat, with a *katikiro* or 'prime minister', a *muramuzi* or 'chief justice' and a *muketo* or 'treasurer', and their staffs, together with four grades of territorial chiefs. These are the county (*saza*) chiefs, the sub-county (*gombolola*) chiefs, the parish

(*miruka*; sing., *muruka*) chiefs and the village headmen (*batongole*; sing., *mutongole*). It is with these four kinds of chiefs that we shall be mostly concerned in this study.

Every Nyoro belongs to one of 150 or so named patrilineal clans, each of which is associated with a particular ritual avoidance object (*muziro*). These clans, many of which are represented as far south as Buhaya and Buzinza, never form corporate units and, in Bunyoro at least, there is nothing corresponding to the clan councils found in neighbouring kingdoms. Though settlement areas are often called after clans, which seem formerly to have possessed some importance in determining the constitution of territorial groups, there is nowadays practically no corporate 'lineage' action above the level of the minimal descent group of a father and his adult sons. It is still considered a good thing that close agnates should build near to one another and help one another, but in most localities several different clans are fairly equally represented, and local co-operation is determined rather by neighbourhood than by any kind of kin relationship.

Little is known of Nyoro origins. The orthodox view is that long ago the country was occupied by negroid agriculturalists. The impact on these of successive waves of immigrants, some of whom at least were pastoralists, is supposed to have resulted both in the wide range in somatic type and in a dual kind of social organization in which political authority was shared in varying proportions between a centralized state and more or less corporate local groups based on unilineal descent. This division has often been correlated with the distinction between the pastoral Hima (Huma, in Lunyoro) who are supposed to have assumed the role of overlords, and the agricultural Iru, or peasants, who form the governed majority. But for Bunyoro this is an over-simplification. Although Huma have always regarded themselves as superior to Iru, the position was complicated some twenty or so generations ago by the arrival of a third element, the Nilotic Bito (a Lwoo-speaking group, with affinities to present-day Acholi and Alur) from which the present ruling line derives. The present king claims to be the 26th of the Bito line. To the Bito, or at least to members of its royal lineage, now attaches much of the prestige and authority associated in the southern kingdoms (which the Bito did not reach) with the Hima. But apart from the exclusiveness of the Mukama and his lineage there is little of the rigid, caste-like discrimination described for the Ankole, though status distinctions are stressed. Thus it has

always been at least theoretically possible in Bunyoro for an able commoner to rise to high political authority.

Nyoro believe their kingdom to be the direct successor to the ancient empire of Kitara, and their Mukama to be the direct heir of its ancient rulers. The origins of this empire are shrouded in legend. Of its polity nothing certain can be said. It is supposed to have extended over most of present-day Uganda and beyond, but over its remoter constituents, at least, its political authority can have meant little more than the sporadic exaction of tribute. What is certain is that in more recent times Nyoro territory has suffered grave diminution at the hands of both Ganda and British. Nyoro are very conscious of their former greatness, which is acknowledged in the traditions of neighbouring kingdoms, some of which derive their ruling lines from Bunyoro's royal dynasty.

We cannot understand the position of chiefs in present-day Bunyoro unless we know something of the traditional Nyoro political system and its history. For values appropriate to the traditional system still survive, though they are by no means so appropriate to the changing scene of today. There are obvious difficulties in reconstructing a former political system in the absence of valid historical evidence, but certain statements about the pre-European Nyoro state may reasonably be made. We shall not aim at complete reconstruction; we shall be concerned only with those of its aspects which are relevant to the contemporary situation.

The traditional Nyoro state was centred and focused on the person of the Mukama. His individuality and exclusiveness were (and still are) expressed and sustained by ritual and myth. His right to rule derives by patrilineal descent from a long line of kings and is mythologically validated by an implied innate superiority and by the will of Ruhanga, the Creator. The ritual traditionally associated with his person expresses two main themes. First it stresses the identity between his physical condition and actions and the well-being of the whole kingdom. Thus he must perform a daily round of ceremonies relating to cattle and milk, he carries out special ceremonies at the time of the new moon,[1] he must be kept away from illness and death, and formerly he could not reign if he suffered any physical mutilation or incapacity. Like the king

[1] For some account of these and other ceremonies see J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara or Banyoro: the First Part of the Report of the Mackie Ethnological Expedition to Central Africa*, 1923, chap. V.

of Ankole[1] he must not turn over when in bed, lest some disaster befall the country. The second theme expressed by the royal ritual was the Mukama's superiority to and difference from other people. Thus Nyoro accession ceremonies are intricate and lengthy,[2] a special court vocabulary is used of the king's person and activities, he is subject to stringent food taboos, he is addressed in the third person and possesses many special names and honorific titles, and his office is associated with an extensive regalia. His territorial might was formerly symbolized in an annual ceremony in which he shot arrows in the direction of the four points of the compass, saying, 'I have shot the nations to overcome them.'[3]

But he was no mere figurehead: he not only reigned but governed. A number of officials were associated with him at the head of the state. The *Okwiri*[4] was the head of the royal Bito clan: he should be the late Mukama's eldest son, and so the reigning Mukama's oldest brother. He is said to have ruled the Bito just as the Mukama ruled the whole country. The Mukama's official sister, the *Kalyota*,[5] is said to have ruled the princesses (the women of the royal clan) just as the *Okwiri* ruled the princes. The king's mother, the *Nyina Omukama*, also maintained a court of her own and had her own estates. There was also a large body of ritual and household officials and advisers, many of whom held high status and wielded political influence. The most important categories of these were the *banyamirwa* and the *basekura*. The *banyamirwa* (literally, 'those concerned with customary affairs') comprised all those who were formally responsible for the performance of ritual and domestic functions in the palace and for the custody of items of the extensive royal regalia. Many of these offices were and still are vested in particular clans, and their occupants often enjoyed close personal contact with the Mukama. This institution also served to give the clans an interest in the kingship and in the centralized state of which it was the centre. The *basekura* (literally, 'those who discuss matters') were a less formally defined category of close unofficial advisers to the Mukama, and they would ordinarily include some

[1] F. Lukyn Williams, 'The Inauguration of the Omugabe of Ankole to Office', *Uganda Journal*, vol. IV, No. 4, 1937.

[2] They are described by K. W., 'The Procedure in Accession to the Throne of a Nominated King in the Kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara', *Uganda Journal*, vol. IV, No. 4, 1937.

[3] J. Roscoe, op. cit., p. 112.

[4] Mistakenly referred to by Roscoe as *Kasunsu Nkwanza* and *Mugurusi*, op. cit., p. 172.

[5] Not very appropriately called the 'queen' by Roscoe, op. cit., chap. VI.

of the *banyamirwa*. Even today it is sometimes said that the *basekura*, who have no place in the official chiefly hierarchy, are 'nearer to the Mukama' than many of his officially appointed chiefs and advisers. The king, finally, had the right to grant 'crowns' (*kondo*), implying a gift of political power as well as of high ritual status, to persons of particular eminence.[1]

Though most of the above officials, and in particular the 'crown-wearers', were granted extensive 'estates' by the Mukama, over which they exercised authority of a political kind, the traditional system appears to have provided specifically for a territorial administration. It is not now possible to determine its exact form, but certain assertions may be made about it with reasonable certainty. First and most important, all political authority was seen as stemming from the person of the Mukama himself; it was held subject to his approval, signified through a ceremony of 'milk-drinking' which a candidate for any kind of political office had to undergo. Thus the grant of political authority implied a close bond of personal dependence on and attachment to the Mukama's person. It is of interest that in the traditional Nyoro view virtually *all* authority over people was held from the Mukama and subject to his approval. Even the restricted authority traditionally vested in the heads of more or less extended groups of agnates had to be ceremonially validated by the Mukama, and in theory at least an heir to any considerable property had to be 'introduced' to him.

Traditional Nyoro chieftainship seems to have been essentially territorial; a chief of whatever rank was a person to whom the Mukama had granted rights over a particular territory and the people who lived in it. Though these rights were held as personal and private possessions, they were none the less conditional on the fulfilment of duties, and they could be withdrawn by the Mukama at any time. The recipient of a territorial chieftainship was required to provide the Mukama periodically with grain, beer and cattle, as well as ivory and other goods, and he had to supply labourers for work at the capital in peacetime and soldiers in time of war. Of course, these exactions fell ultimately on the peasants,

[1] The recipients of this honour were known as *bajwara kondo* (Roscoe's 'Sacred Guild'—op. cit., p. 51 and *passim*). The institution is now obsolescent. Only fifteen *bajwara kondo* were known to survive in 1950 (as against 51 a quarter of a century earlier), and most of these fifteen were hereditary holders of the title. No new 'crown' has been awarded for many years.

who in return looked for protection and security from their overlord. An important chief had to maintain a residence at the capital as well as in his chiefdom, and he was expected to spend a good deal of time in attendance on his master. When he was absent he had to leave behind him a deputy who assumed his titles and took his place on formal occasions.

Though all chiefs held their authority directly or indirectly from the Mukama, there were different categories of chiefs. Older writers distinguish the great *bakungu* or *banyoro*, who ruled over large areas and were answerable only to the Mukama, from the *batongole*, who governed smaller areas.[1] It seems that the *batongole* could hold their authority direct from the Mukama just as the larger chiefs did, or they could be subordinates of or assistants to the great *bakungu*, holding their local authority direct from them. But in either case their authority would have to be validated by the Mukama. It seems probable that below the level of the dozen or so great *bakungu*, 'provincial' rulers, who possessed political authority over definite named territories or sazas and bore specific titles,[2] chiefs were not regarded as occupying distinct categories, but rather in terms of a gradual scale of importance. Position on this scale would have been determined both by the extent of a chief's territory and the number of his dependants and by the closeness of his relationship with the Mukama. What is certain is that in pre-European times there was nothing like the present formalized hierarchy of chiefs.

To the question who could become chiefs in the traditional system, the simplest answer is 'those whom the Mukama wished to make chiefs'. Chieftainships were not restricted to any particular class or category of persons, and Bito (members of the royal clan), Huma and persons of agricultural origin (though usually of chiefly family) were equally eligible. The usual ground (apart from inheritance) for appointment to a chieftainship was that the recipient had either by service or by gift earned the Mukama's approbation, and many minor chieftainships were granted to affinal and other relatives, officials of the royal household and other persons, on such grounds. Thus Roscoe's assertion that the ruling class in Bunyoro

[1] Cf. for example, Baker, *Ismailia*, 2nd ed., 1878, p. 290; *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, ed. Schweinfurth and others, 1888, p. 89; and G. Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria and the Return with Emin Pasha*, 1891, vol. II, p. 49.

[2] The names of Bunyoro's four present-day counties (though not their rulers' titles, which have been borrowed from Buganda) have been known since traditional times, and they still denote roughly the same areas.

are Huma, whom he defines as 'pastoral nomads',[1] is incorrect. The facts are that the king and the princes are not by patrilineal descent Huma, but Bito of Nilotic origin, though, as kings frequently married Huma women, they were often of Huma descent on their mothers' side. The chiefs possessed explicitly territorial jurisdictions and so cannot have been nomadic, and the Huma, though they claimed and were accorded high prestige and often became chiefs, were not *ipso facto* rulers, but herdsmen who had attached themselves to great chiefs. The fact that the Huma in Bunyoro lack the high political (as opposed to social) status accorded to the Hima in Ankole may, perhaps, be associated with the fact that the king of Ankole, unlike the king of Bunyoro, is himself a Hima and so is able to provide a symbol and focus for Hima political ascendancy in his country.

European Contacts

Some account must now be given of the events of the past three-quarters of a century or so. For several generations before the arrival of the Europeans, Buganda, which was originally an offshoot of the ancient Kitara kingdom, had been increasing in power, largely at Bunyoro's expense. Raids, which sometimes assumed the character of full-scale war, were frequent in both directions, and there was no love lost between the two kingdoms. Thus it was a misfortune for Bunyoro that Speke and Grant, the first Europeans to enter it, in 1862, came from the Ganda court, for this fact inevitably aroused Nyoro suspicions. The Mukama's relations with Samuel Baker and his wife, who came in the following year from the north, apparently in close association with the Sudanese slaving and ivory-raiding parties then ravaging what is now northern Uganda, were even less auspicious. Baker's second visit to the country, this time as an agent of the Egyptian government, ended with his hasty retreat from the country in 1874, after he had formally annexed Bunyoro to Egypt, deposed the recalcitrant king, Kabarega, and in his place appointed a cousin of Kabarega named Ruyonga. Though this *coup* no doubt relieved Baker's feelings, it did not at all affect Kabarega's authority in Bunyoro. In 1874 Baker was succeeded as Governor-General of the Equatoria Province of Egypt (in which Bunyoro was now supposed to be included) by General Gordon, and it is plain that

[1] J. Roscoe, op. cit., p. 6.

this famous soldier's hostile attitude to the Nyoro was due mainly to his predecessor's reports. He had no dealings at all with Kabarega, maintaining contact instead with Baker's puppet Ruyonga. Gordon was succeeded in 1878 by the expatriate German, Emin Pasha, who differed from his predecessors, and indeed from most of his successors, in being a trained scientist and scholar. He got on well with Kabarega, and his administration seems to have been successful until the repercussions of the Mahdist revolt in the Sudan led to his isolation and finally to the breakdown of his authority. After his reluctant departure with Stanley in 1889, Kabarega began a new series of raids into Buganda and Toro, and from that time any kind of friendly relationship between Europeans and the Nyoro king ceased.

The next phase in Nyoro-European relations opened with the arrival of Lugard in the following year. There is evidence that the Kabaka of Buganda and his advisers did their best to prejudice Lugard against the western kingdom, and there is no suggestion in Lugard's writings that he ever even considered the possibility of negotiating with Kabarega. Lugard's undertaking to restore the young prince Kasagama to the throne of Toro (which Kabarega regarded as a rebellious Nyoro province), and his garrisoning of several forts on the borders of that country with undisciplined Sudanese soldiers left behind by Emin, brought him into further enmity with the Nyoro king. In 1893 a full-scale military invasion of Bunyoro was undertaken with a force consisting mainly of Ganda. But Mukama Kabarcga evaded capture. However, after an even larger invasion in 1895 (comprising six companies of Sudanese and no less than 20,000 Ganda[1]), he was forced to retire across the Nile into Lango district, where he was finally captured in 1899. He was subsequently exiled to the Seychelles.

At the close of the nineteenth century, then, Bunyoro was in poor shape. Its king was captured and exiled, its country was devastated and depopulated, its people were ravaged by famine and disease, its administration was in chaos, and the Nyoro's hereditary enemies, the Ganda, were lording it over them. The degradation of the ancient kingdom was almost complete. The 1900 Agreement which Sir Harry Johnston concluded with the

[1] F. D. Lugard, *The Story of the Uganda Protectorate*, [1900], p. 147. The effect of this locust-like swarm of invaders on the already precarious food supply of the country can be imagined.

three regents of Buganda secured to that kingdom the three rich Nyoro counties which comprise the present Mubende district. This move at once penalized the Nyoro for their resistance and rewarded the Ganda for their assistance to the campaign against Bunyoro. As a consequence almost 40% of the Nyoro people have lived in Ganda territory and been under Ganda chiefs for the past half-century, a state of affairs which the Nyoro and their king still deeply resent.[1] The Uganda Agreement, which referred to Buganda only, also provided that many chiefs and other important people in Buganda should receive in what amounted to freehold tenure rights over considerable areas of land which they happened to be ruling at the time. It was later recognized that these grants were based on the mistaken assumption that the existing chiefs had hereditary right to the lands which they were administering for the Kabaka, but by then it was too late to alter things; the notion of private property in land has been permanently introduced. No such grants were made in Bunyoro, despite repeated requests by the Mukama and his chiefs, and this appeared to Nyoro to be a further example of discrimination against them.

During the early 1900's Bunyoro was regarded as conquered territory. But in the past half-century there has been gradual but steady economic and political advance. Though a young son of Kabarega had been appointed Mukama before the end of the century,[2] administration was, to begin with, mainly in the hands of appointed Ganda chiefs. There were demonstrations against these chiefs in 1906, and though the dissidents were arrested and punished, Nyoro took an increasingly large share in their own government from this time on. By the end of the twenties the last of the Ganda chiefs had retired. In 1933 Bunyoro's political status was made explicit in the Bunyoro Agreement, concluded between the Protectorate Government and the Mukama and chiefs of Bunyoro.[3] The Agreement provided, *inter alia,* that subject to the overriding authority of the Protectorate Government the Mukama should be the native ruler of Bunyoro, that he might appoint and dismiss his chiefs (subject in the case of the senior chiefs to the Governor's approval) and that he should be assisted in his admini-

[1] The tombs of almost all of the former Bito kings of Bunyoro, which are national monuments of great importance, lie in this alienated area.

[2] Replaced, as he proved incapable, by another son in 1901.

[3] The other Uganda kingdoms (Buganda, Toro and Ankole) had been given Agreements more than 30 years before.

stration by a council of prescribed composition.[1] In 1953, 52 of the 75 members of this council were native government officials or the Mukama's nominees. The rest were elected commoners, mostly chosen from the lower chiefs' advisory councils by the 'electoral college' method.

The administration built up during the first third of the present century was, then, based on the Ganda model. But features of the traditional Nyoro system persisted and indeed survive to the present day. Two are of particular importance. The first is the fact that traditionally the bestowal of territorial chieftainships was in the Mukama's gift, chieftainship implying a bond of personal dependence on and loyalty to the Mukama's person. The second is the close identity which subsists between landholding and chieftainship. In the traditional system the grant of political authority and the allocation of proprietal rights over specific pieces of populated land were one and the same thing. They are still closely associated today.

Before we discuss the contemporary chiefly hierarchy, we must say something of the ways in which the development of land rights and the development of political authority have affected each other.[2] I have said that in the traditional system a grant by the Mukama of a chieftainship, of whatever size, was essentially a grant of rights over a particular territory and the people in it. Accordingly, when the Government reintroduced chiefs at the beginning of the century it was inevitable that a chief should think of his area as, on the 'feudal' model, a sort of official estate, from the occupants of which he could exact services and tribute. With the introduction of money this tribute was commuted first to four and then to seven shillings per adult man, and until 1933 this was

[1] This Agreement was criticized by educated Nyoro mainly on the ground that it excessively strengthened the Mukama's personal power in regard to the appointment, promotion and dismissal of chiefs. Partly in consequence of these criticisms a new Agreement was made in September, 1955. This deprived the Mukama of the authority, conferred by the earlier Agreement, to appoint and dismiss his chiefs without consultation with his own Government. He may now exercise this authority only in conformity with the advice of his official advisers. In the present study, however, I describe the situation as it was in 1953, when the field-work on which this essay is based was completed. No account has been taken of changes consequent on the 1955 reform, for I have not been in Bunyoro since then to observe them.

[2] For a more detailed discussion of this theme the reader is referred to J. H. M. Beattie, 'The *Kibanja* System of Land Tenure in Bunyoro, Uganda', and 'A Further Note on the *Kibanja* System of Land Tenure in Bunyoro, Uganda', *Journal of African Administration*, vol. VI, Nos. 1 and 4, 1954.

the chiefs' main source of revenue. But in addition to these official 'estates' the Mukama had begun, from about 1904, to give plots of occupied land, not only as rewards for retired chiefs, but also as presents to princes and princesses, to serving chiefs of various ranks, to functionaries in the royal household and to various other 'people of standing'. Plots thus granted, or *bibanja* (sing., *kibanja*), as they came to be called, were regarded as the private and permanent property of the recipients, who enjoyed the profit from their holdings just as the chiefs did on their official 'estates'. Indeed, and this is most important, the proprietors of these populated *bibanja* were regarded by the people as no less chiefs than the authorities officially so recognized. So what this development implied was, on the one hand, an increasing individualization of the landholding of chiefs *qua* chiefs, and on the other hand, an immense accession to the ranks of the petty chiefs, for every recipient of a populated *kibanja*, however tiny, became *ipso facto* a minor chief.

By 1931 the best of the populated lands in the district had been taken up in official estates or *bibanja*. An enquiry by the Government[1] revealed that out of approximately 22,000 taxpayers 18,549 were paying *busulu* (commuted tribute) on land not their own; 10,729 on the official estates, 6,280 on private *bibanja*, and 1,540 on church and other alienated lands. 12,666 taxpayers were paying *busulu* on either official or private estates to the Mukama or his chiefs, that is, about 58% of the total tax-paying population. Out of a total of 1,005 *bibanja*, 153 were held by chiefs, 170 by ex-chiefs, 180 by princes and princesses, and 502 by others, the bulk of whom were various domestic and ritual functionaries in the king's palace, certain of the king's relatives, and teachers, traders and artisans.

This state of affairs was not acceptable to the Government, which at once proceeded to make regulations under the 1933 Agreement with the aim of eradicating the system of large tenanted *bibanja* and replacing it by a system of smallholdings restricted to a size appropriate to the occupier's own use, with rights validated by a certificate of occupancy. These rights were not freehold: certificates conveyed right of occupancy, not of ownership, and were conditional on the actual occupation and cultivation of the land.

But the proprietal *kibanja* system was too deeply rooted to be

[1] *Enquiry into Land Tenure and the Kibanja System in Bunyoro*, 1931; *Report of the Committee* (the Thomas and Rubie Report), 1932, p. 21 and Appendix A.

eradicated by these means. Though the reform achieved the important end of providing salaries for chiefs and doing away with the old 'tribute' payments, it failed to diminish appreciably the number or size of the old tenanted *bibanja*. Old ones were confirmed under the new regulations, and new ones granted. *Bibanja*, even rentless ones, were still attractive; even though the proprietor of a tenanted *kibanja* no longer drew tribute from his peasants, he was still a person of importance and wielded authority over his peasant population. He was, in short, a kind of chief. So a consequence of the 1933 reform was to create two kinds of chiefs, the salaried official chiefs on the one hand, and the very much more numerous body of proprietors of populated *bibanja* on the other.

From the side of the official chiefs (with whom we are here primarily concerned) this dualism has been partly resolved by a merging in themselves of these two different bases of authority. Usually when a man is appointed to an official chieftainship he at once seeks to acquire a tenanted *kibanja*, if he does not already possess one. Because chiefly authority and rights over land and the people on it are still identified, a man who is a chief ought to possess a *kibanja*. In fact the great majority of official chiefs of all ranks do own populated *bibanja*. And in most cases these were obtained or their extent increased after their recipient's appointment or promotion. Thus in 1953 at least 22 of the 25 sub-county chiefs possessed populated *bibanja*. And out of a sample of 42 parish chiefs 34 did, that is, just over 80%.

Some figures derived from analysis of returns relating to a sample[1] of 369 populated *bibanja* are relevant. Over 30% of these *bibanja* belonged to serving or retired official chiefs. These people, as well as being the largest category of recipients, also received the largest *bibanja*, in terms of population. Thus a sample of 100 chiefs had on the average nine tenant householders per *kibanja*; the figure for all the other categories of recipients combined was five or six. And (as we might expect) the higher the rank of the *kibanja*-holding chief the larger is his tenant population.[2] But there is a striking gap between the sizes of the *bibanja* held by the two lower grades of chief and the sizes of those held by the sub-county

[1] The returns asked for were submitted from some chiefdoms and not from others, but I believe that the figures are representative.

[2] Thus three county chiefs averaged 54 dependent households on their *bibanja*, twelve sub-county chiefs averaged fifteen each, 24 parish chiefs had seven each, and 61 village headmen six each.

and even more the county chiefs. We shall see later that the social gap between parish chiefs and sub-county chiefs is far wider than that between parish chiefs and village headmen, and even than that between sub-county chiefs and county chiefs.

The traditional identification of political authority and rights over land is, then, still viable in Bunyoro. Bearing this identity in mind, we now proceed to consider the kinds of men who become official chiefs, the kinds of jobs they do and the ways in which they are regarded.

Appointment of Chiefs

First, what sort of people become official chiefs? Chieftainship is not hereditary; the only hereditary political office in Bunyoro is the Mukama's. None the less, in Bunyoro as elsewhere chieftainships tend to run in families; when it comes to selection for a post, a man who has grown up in a chief's household will have obvious advantages. But we must be careful here not to be misled by the now familiar ambiguity of the word 'chief'. For a man may be the son of a '*munyoro*', a 'chief' (e.g. the proprietor of a large *kibanja*) who is not an 'official' chief. Thus to regard as of chiefly descent only those whose fathers were official chiefs would misrepresent the situation. It is well to do, also, as Nyoro do and in certain contexts to regard both official and unofficial 'chiefs' as occupying a single category. Table 8, p. 125, which shows the numbers of the official chiefs, is therefore supplemented by Table 9 which shows the number of 'distinguished persons' (a category which includes others besides chiefs) among paternal relatives and among relatives-in-law claimed by the official chiefs. From these tables it appears that more than 85% of the county and sub-county chiefs claim distinguished relatives among their paternal kin, while just under 60% of the parish chiefs and village headmen do so. The gap between the higher and lower categories of chiefs is even more strongly marked when chiefs' affinal connections are considered. Thus 76% of the chiefs in the two higher grades claim distinguished 'in-laws' (only 41% of whom are 'official' chiefs), whereas only 34% of the lower chiefs make such a claim. It seems that in general the parish chiefs and even more the village headmen do not see themselves as members of one of the higher status groups in Nyoro society and they do not, in the majority of cases at least, marry into such groups. The higher a chief's official rank, the more he

considers himself to be a member of an 'upper class', and the more likely it is that he will marry into a 'distinguished' family.

Chiefly descent, then, is not in itself a qualification for appointment to an official chieftainship, though many chiefs are the sons of 'chiefs' in one or other sense of that term. Still less is membership of the royal Bito clan such a qualification, as Table 7 shows. This is consistent with what we know of traditional Nyoro politics; the bonds of political obligation and dependence traditionally follow the lines of hierarchical 'feudal' interrelationship rather than those of agnatic kinship. It is true that at and above sub-county level there are slightly more Bito chiefs than there are chiefs of any other single clan, but this may be assumed to be due to a slight preponderance of educated Bito rather than to any tendency to appoint chiefs from the royal clan just because they are Bito. And Bito, at any rate those who are closely related to the Mukama, do not see themselves as fitting into a hierarchical system of authority anywhere except at or near the top: it would be unseemly, they say, for a Bito formally to assume a position subordinate to a chief of peasant origin.

So much for hereditary qualifications; we turn now to consider chiefs' 'achievement' ratings, in particular their educational standards and their previous experience and training. For many years some degree of literacy has been required of even the lower chiefs. Table 2 shows that three out of the four county chiefs have secondary education, and so have just under half of the sub-county chiefs. All these chiefs have had at least some primary education. But there is a striking difference in educational qualification between them and the two lower grades of chiefs. Only 15% of the parish chiefs have had secondary education, and none of the village headmen had, for no one with secondary education would dream of taking a job as a village headman. In our sample of parish chiefs two had no formal education at all, and the proportion of unschooled is higher among the village headmen. It may be noted, too, that a man has little chance of direct appointment as a sub-county chief (that is, otherwise than on promotion from a parish chieftainship) unless he has had secondary education. Of the 25 sub-county chiefs in office in 1953, fifteen had been promoted after varying terms of service as parish chiefs, and ten had been directly appointed from outside the service. Of these ten, all except one had had secondary education.

Of interest also are the kinds of employment from which men

proceed to territorial chieftainships. Many chiefs (except county chiefs, all of whom were promoted from sub-counties) were appointed directly from outside the local chiefly hierarchy. The more important kinds of occupation from which contemporary chiefs have been appointed are set out in Table 4. The African Local Government forms the largest reservoir for the supply of both sub-county and parish chiefs, fairly closely followed by the missions (a category which includes both school-teachers and catechists). This is not surprising. The African Local Government employs more than 50 clerks and the turnover among these is rapid. As against other candidates for chieftainship they have the advantage of being known to the senior chiefs, under whom they work and between whom they are frequently transferred, and of coming to the notice of such important officials as the prime minister, the chief justice and the treasurer, and even the Mukama himself, in the course of their duties. Such men, who are familiar with court procedure, the details of tax collection and many other aspects of a chief's work, are obvious choices. Somewhat similar considerations apply to teachers and catechists. By definition more or less literate and generally well known in the community, their pay in such employment is not such as to induce a man without a strong sense of vocation to remain in it if more remunerative employment offers.

Table 5 shows how chiefs were employed before they received their first positions as chiefs; it does not show what they were before they received their present chiefly appointments, i.e. whether they were promoted from a lower chieftainship or appointed from outside the service. The position in 1953 was that all four county chiefs had been promoted from sub-county chieftainships, while the village headmen must of necessity be new to chiefly service. But the intake of new chiefs at the two intermediate levels is considerable. We noted that of the 25 sub-county chiefs ten had been appointed from outside. The intake from outside the service at parish level is even higher; fifteen out of the 25 parish chiefs for whom I have information were appointed directly and not on promotion from a village headmanship. These factors obviously affect a lower chief's prospects of promotion; I shall return to this point later.

It is worth noting that the age at which chiefs are first appointed seems to remain fairly constant at about 34 years, regardless of the rank to which appointment is made. This is of interest as

showing how little seniority in the Nyoro territorial chieftainship is correlated with age. There is nothing gerontocratic about Nyoro notions of political authority, accession to which is determined, as we have noted, by quite other factors than seniority.

To complete our picture of the kinds of people who become chiefs, a word must be said about their religious affiliations. I do not know the exact proportion of Protestants to Roman Catholics in Bunyoro, but they are probably fairly evenly balanced, with the advantage perhaps on the side of the Protestants. Muslims form a small minority, as, nowadays, do professed pagans, and these two latter categories are barely represented among the chiefs. It is of some interest, then, that the proportion of Roman Catholics to Protestants decreases sharply as one moves up the chiefly hierarchy, and that once again the largest gap is between sub-county and parish chiefs. Table 3 shows that while about a third of the lower grade chiefs in our sample are Roman Catholics, only one-eighth of the sub-county chiefs are, and none of the county chiefs. It seems that Roman Catholics are at a definite disadvantage when it comes to appointment or promotion to the higher ranks. This may reflect the generally acknowledged fact that educational standards in the Catholic schools are slightly lower; also, perhaps, the fact that the Native Anglican Church, to which the Mukama belongs, has always been the 'established' church in Bunyoro, and has in the past had a good deal of influence on the Mukama and his government.

We turn now to consider how chiefs are appointed. We saw that in the traditional system territorial chieftainships were in the Mukama's gift, though it may be supposed that he would ordinarily take account of the views of his more important chiefs and advisers at least in appointments to the larger chiefdoms. The British conquest, of course, altered this. In the early years of the present century chiefs were appointed by European administrators without much regard to traditional practice. But the 1933 Agreement attempted to restore some degree of autonomy to the traditional authority. Its effect, however, was to give the Mukama far greater personal power in the appointment and dismissal of chiefs than it seems likely that he would have had under the traditional system. For the officers who drafted the Agreement could hardly have been expected to be familiar with the traditional checks on the Mukama's personal power which had ceased to exist some 30 or 40 years earlier. Thus the Agreement provided that the Mukama

could appoint and dismiss his chiefs of all ranks without any consultation with his official advisers; it says that he 'may', not that he must, consult the *Rukurato* (the senior council of the African Local Government) in such matters. And only in the case of the county and sub-county chiefs was the Central Government's approval required (and the district commissioner would only rarely exercise his power of veto). It is not to be wondered at, then, that the Mukama should have felt himself to be under no moral obligation, as he was under no legal one, to act only after formal consultation with his official chiefs. In fact the 1933 Agreement, by giving the Mukama a virtually free hand in appointments and dismissals, has tended to personalize rather than depersonalize his relations with his territorial chiefs.

But of course not all appointments were made by the Mukama regardless of his chief's opinions. There were recognized procedures for appointment to the various grades of chiefly service. Thus while county chiefs were selected by the Mukama himself (subject to the district commissioner's approval) sub-county chiefs were supposed to be nominated in the first place by the county chiefs, and sometimes they were. Parish chiefs were likewise supposed to be chosen by the sub-county and county chiefs, though actually appointed by the Mukama. Many were so chosen, but a number were appointed by the Mukama directly, under the authority of the 1933 Agreement. Village headmen were supposed to be chosen, and often were, by a show of hands by the people of the village concerned, under the supervision of the parish chief. If the parish chief approved the choice, the selected man was taken to the sub-county chief and thence to the county chief for approval. The Central Government was not, and still is not, concerned with appointments to the two lower levels, though an administrative officer could instigate dismissal or transfer.

So much for the modes in which chiefs were appointed up to and during the time at which this study was made.[1] It is plain that the relationship between the chiefs and the Mukama is not yet at all similar to that between, say, a civil servant and the head of his department: the relationship is still primarily one of personal

[1] Since the signing of the new (1955) Agreement, county, sub-county and parish chiefs may only be appointed and dismissed in conformity with the advice of official appointments committees. Village headmen are to be elected by their people (though appointed by the Mukama) and their dismissal is subject to restrictions similar to those applicable in the case of chiefs.

dependence and loyalty, approximating at least as closely to 'feudal' as to bureaucratic norms. Standards of both kinds are involved, as we shall see; here we simply record that at least up till 1953 appointments and promotions in the chiefly service depended on the personal favour of the Mukama no less than on the acquired qualities of efficiency and experience.

We turn now to consider chiefs' conditions of service, and the kinds of things they do. With regard, first, to their official emoluments, we have already noted that the idea that a chief should receive a permanent salary is quite recent in Bunyoro: until 1933 chiefs derived most of their revenue from the money and goods paid to them by the peasant occupiers of their areas. These no longer form official sources of revenue, though some chiefs still expect occasional small gifts of food and beer from their people. It would be a mistake to regard such gifts as 'bribes'; they express the traditional personal interdependence of rulers and ruled, and imply (or at least formerly implied) the grant of reciprocal services by the chiefs.

Nowadays chiefs receive monthly salaries. In 1953 village headmen received Shs. 21/– to 22/– a month, parish chiefs Shs. 32/– to 50/–, sub-county chiefs from Shs. 75/– upwards, and county chiefs from £290 to £350 a year. All received as well a cost-of-living allowance of 25% of salary. These emoluments, especially for the lower ranks, were quite inadequate to support the standard of living and hospitality appropriate to a chief, unless they were supplemented by agriculture or trade. They have since been considerably increased, but it remains true that village headmen and parish chiefs are among the lowest-paid categories of employees in Bunyoro. This considerably affects the esteem in which they are held by other Nyoro, and in particular by the people they are supposed to administer, of whom many may be much richer than they are. Thus, by comparison, Europeans' domestic servants get Shs. 60/– or more a month, assistants in shops or garages may get Shs. 100/– or more, and so may self-employed workers like carpenters, shoemakers and ironsmiths. Even unskilled labourers may now get wages in excess of Shs. 40/– a month.

County and sub-county chiefs receive pensions on retirement. The lower grades of chiefs do not, though they may be given cash gratuities. Chiefs of the two higher ranks have free quarters, usually more or less well-built permanent and semi-permanent

houses. Parish chiefs are also entitled to free houses, but these are usually of the ordinary rectangular mud-and-wattle type occupied by better-off Nyoro peasants. Village headmen do not get houses; the presumption is that they are local people and can continue to live at home.

What are the prospects of promotion for chiefs in the two lower grades? We have already noted that 60% of the parish chiefs were appointed direct without having served as village headmen, and that 40% of the sub-county chiefs were similarly appointed from 'outside'. This means that most village headmen will remain so throughout their service, and a parish chief's likelihood of reaching pensionable status is hardly greater. And it is my impression (though one for which I cannot adduce quantitative evidence) that the tendency to make appointments from outside the service is increasing. This tendency seems to be correlated with the increasing level of educational qualification. We have recorded that all but one of the ten sub-county chiefs who were appointed from outside the service had had secondary education, while of the fifteen who were promoted from parish chieftainships only three had advanced beyond primary level. It is to be noted, also, that the average age of those sub-county chiefs who were directly appointed (48 years) is a few years below that of the promoted sub-county chiefs (51 years). Of course, at the level of the parish chiefs there is no such clear correlation between educational standard and whether a chief was appointed from outside or on promotion; few parish chiefs have had secondary education.

Promotion is unlikely to be rapid. Twelve sub-county chiefs promoted from the lower level had averaged thirteen years' service as parish chiefs, and ten parish chiefs promoted from village headmanship had averaged no less than seventeen years in the lower post. A sub-county chief's prospects of being promoted to a county chieftainship are hardly better, since there are only four county chieftainships altogether, but at least it is known that county chiefs will not be recruited from outside the service.

This dual mode of recruitment to the intermediate chieftainships affects the kinds of relations which subsist between chiefs and people, especially at the level of the sub-county chiefs. For parish chiefs, even if they have never served as village headmen, live among the people in a way in which the sub-county chiefs do not, so that if they are not already familiar with their people they very quickly become so. But a sub-county chief lives at the centre of

the small 'official' world of his staff of clerks and policemen.[1] He deals with the people of his sub-county mostly through his parish chiefs and headmen. Of course, sub-county chiefs do go among the people of their areas, but they do not live among them as the two lower ranks of chiefs do. Thus a sub-county chief who has spent some time as a parish chief will at least have, what his directly appointed and probably better-educated colleague lacks, a first-hand knowledge of day-to-day administration at the lowest level.

But contact between the higher grades of chiefs and the peasant population, which is of course restricted by definition in a hierarchically organized, 'pyramidal' political structure, is further limited by the frequency of transfers. For county and sub-county chiefs are transferred very much more often than parish chiefs and village headmen. At the end of a twelve-month period during my stay in Bunyoro, sixteen out of 25 sub-counties had different chiefs from those whom they had had at the beginning, and after three years (1949–52) only two sub-county chiefs had not been transferred. The case of county chiefs is similar. Thus a sub-county chief is unlikely to stay in the same sub-county for more than about two years, and he may be moved much sooner. Evidently he cannot get to know his area intimately in this time, nor can he get to know very many of the 5–6,000 people who probably live in it.

For the lower chiefs things are very different. Parish chiefs often remain in the same parish for five to ten years, sometimes longer. An average posting to a parish might be about six years. Indeed most transfers seem to be on promotion to sub-county chieftainships, and vacancies at that level are not numerous. Village headmen are almost always appointed in their own villages, and so they are rarely transferred, except occasionally on promotion to parish chieftainships.

The division between the upper and the lower grades of chiefs, which we have already noted, is also expressed in our next theme, the chiefs' official duties. County and sub-county chiefs, first of all, must give a large and increasing amount of time to paper work. Correspondence with their superiors and subordinates in the service, including in the former case the submission of numerous returns, takes up a good deal of time. Court work, especially at

[1] Sub-county chiefs have under them one or two clerks, depending on the size of the sub-county and the amount of work, and two or sometimes three policemen (*askari*). They may also employ local labour for grass-cutting, thatching, etc. Parish chiefs and village headmen have no supporting clerical or executive personnel.

sub-county level, occupies one or more full days a week. Tax collection is a constant preoccupation at all levels. Chiefs are also responsible for 'policing' their areas, apprehending criminals, tax defaulters and other offenders, and for maintaining adequate food reserves. All chiefs (but especially parish chiefs, who have no official courts) spend a good deal of time in the informal settlement of disputes.

I have sufficiently stressed the self-evident truth that contact with the people mostly takes place at the level of the parish chiefs and village headmen. But consideration of the duties of these chiefs underlines it. They have no offices or clerical work to keep them at home, so they are constantly on the move among their people. They inspect people's food gardens, issue beer-brewing permits, supervise the clearing of paths and tracks and the maintenance of roads, tell the people where and what to plant, organize communal pig and baboon hunts, summon people to attend at court, and carry out an infinity of small day-to-day duties. It is they who in the last resort represent the Government to the people, and they are of and among the people in a way in which the higher chiefs are not and cannot be. Thus a village headman or even a parish chief may drop in quite informally to any beer party in an area where he has business, and he falls easily and unconstrainedly into the party. He may join any family in a meal without fuss or formality. When a sub-county chief visits a village the atmosphere is very different. Considerable preparations are made for his reception, and everyone is on his best behaviour. All this is consistent with the marked division of status between the two higher and the two lower grades of chiefs; the latter are of, the former above, the ordinary peasants whom they administer.[1]

Our picture of the chiefs' functioning would be incomplete without a reference to the council system. During the period of my field-work there were four grades of councils, the highest, the district council, being associated with the Mukama, the others with the three higher grades of territorial chiefs. There was an official majority on all councils, and (except for the highest council, which could make by-laws) all were advisory only. It was my

[1] Here is a trivial but significant index of this difference of status: all Nyoro peasants smoke cigarettes with the lighted end inside the mouth, so that no smoke is wasted; all village headmen and most parish chiefs, when offered a cigarette, smoke it in this way. But no county or sub-county chief would think of doing such a thing; he would smoke it with the lighted end outside, in the European manner.

impression that the councils did not yet exercise any very great effect on the chiefs they were supposed to advise. It is still difficult for a Nyoro to oppose or contradict an opinion expressed by his superior, and where most people do not desire to be leaders or to participate in political affairs the principle of popular representation is likely to be received with only moderate enthusiasm.

This must conclude our discussion of the chiefs' functions. Two topics remain to be briefly considered. First, something must be said of the relations of chiefs to others who are not chiefs and to one another, and secondly, we must consider the ways in which chiefs are regarded both by Nyoro and by the British Administration.

On the first point, we have already noted that the lower grades of chiefs do not ordinarily claim and are not accorded higher status than several other categories of persons who may nominally be subject to their authority. There may even be some measure of antagonism between such persons and the lower chiefs. Thus many *kibanja* proprietors still feel that it is inappropriate that the government chiefs should have direct authority over the peasants living on their *bibanja*; in this context they believe that they themselves, not the official chiefs, are the proper authorities. Often, indeed, they function as intermediaries between government chiefs and their 'tenants'.

The official chiefs present a high degree of mutual solidarity and support against outsiders. Thus charges brought against chiefs by laymen (for example, of bribery) are heard with little sympathy for the complainant in the chiefs' courts. It is strongly felt that a subject has no business to criticize the way in which a chief carries out his duties; such criticism is only tolerable from a superior chief. The insecurity of the lower chiefs' position *vis à vis* many of their subjects sometimes makes them somewhat conscious of their dignity and importance when these qualities seem to be challenged by laymen. This is of course not to say that relations between the lower chiefs and the people in their areas are unsatisfactory; in general the contrary is the case, as the foregoing discussion should have made clear. But potentialities of friction of the kind we have indicated do exist and, as a number of court cases testify, they are sometimes actualized.

Inter-chief relations still express a number of aspects characteristic of the traditional system rather than of the bureaucratic civil service to which Nyoro native administration is sometimes seen as approximating. Thus when a chief of one of the two higher ranks

visits a subordinate chief (especially, though not only, on the former's first appointment) he is formally received and is given gifts in cash or kind, or both, by his host. There is an atmosphere of agitation and even apprehension, special food is cooked, the premises are brushed and tidied, and best clothes are worn. When a parish chief visits a village headman there is no such fuss. These two kinds of chiefs maintain everyday contact with one another, and their relations are generally quite informal. Here again the distinction between the higher chiefs and the lower chiefs is marked.

How, finally, are the chiefs regarded? Little need be said of European attitudes. Efficiency in such matters as tax collection, the disposal of court work and the dispatch of correspondence is valued, and high standards of honesty are looked for. Irregularities in the handling of cash have led to dismissals. Sobriety is also expected, and constant drunkenness is a ground for dismissal. A bright and agreeable manner is approved; sullenness and withdrawnness resented. 'Energetic', 'lots of drive and character', 'firm', 'reliable and loyal', 'full of progressive ideas'—these are some of the categories of European approbation.

Most Nyoro, however, look for quite different qualities. For the traditionalist chiefs are entitled to respect and obedience, not primarily because of their personal ability (though this is important), but rather because they are 'the Mukama's spears', deriving their authority from him. 'There must be chiefs', people say, 'for otherwise how could the Mukama rule his country?' And chiefs should be men of chiefly family; chieftainships should not be given to just anybody. Chiefs should be dignified and polite; they should never shout and rant at people as Europeans sometimes do. They should be calm, not jumpy and excitable. They should know their people and go constantly among them; the chief who spends most of his time in court or office is not liked. They should be strong but not 'fierce', and should always warn before punishing. They should, finally, be generous; like the Mukama, a good chief should give feasts and beer-drinks for his people.

So the qualities which Europeans look for in chiefs and those which Nyoro demand are very different, and only the cleverest and most tactful chief can satisfy the demands of both. Nyoro chiefs are in fact strongly criticized from both sides; it would be strange if they were not. European criticism is mainly concerned with lapses from the Western standards outlined above. More interesting

in the present context are the criticisms by Nyoro themselves. These, too, reflect the dual standard which is demanded. Thus older, more reactionary or less-educated Nyoro criticize their chiefs for failing to conform to traditional norms, while younger educated people, like the Europeans whose culture they have in large part acquired, are concerned rather with the chiefs' failure to achieve what they conceive to be modern standards of democratic leadership. But even this statement is an over-simplification, for traditional and modern criteria sometimes combine oddly, and on certain points the criticisms of both groups coincide.

The 'traditionalists' often say that the chiefs are not nowadays members of aristocratic 'chiefly' families, as they used to be. Though it may be doubted if a majority of them ever were, the criticism is significant. Many older men refer scornfully to contemporary chiefs as mere *bapagazi*, 'hired labourers'. They mean that the chiefs are simply paid servants of the government, interested rather in their salaries and promotion than in knowing and helping their people.[1] It was often said to me (and here traditionalists and progressives agree) that chiefly appointment should not rest solely on the Mukama's personal favour.[2] Certainly a chief cannot be a chief without this favour, but unless he can also claim good family (the traditionalists say) or is qualified by training and ability (the progressives say) he ought not to be a chief, at least not an important chief. And educated or wealthy Nyoro often despise the lower grades of chiefs because of their lack of education and their comparative poverty.

Criticism of what chiefs do, rather than what they are, also varies with the status and point of view of the critic. Peasants often criticize chiefs for failing to conform to one or other of the traditional norms mentioned above, in particular (and the Mukama is subject to the same criticism) for not entertaining and feasting their people as they used to do. It is not always realized that a chief cannot do this without contributions of food and beer from his people, for he certainly cannot do it on his salary. And these contributions are no longer made; as one chief said to me, 'when people have paid their taxes they feel no further obligation to us'. Nyoro are themselves well aware of the extent to which the tradi-

[1] It is no doubt an important reason for the continued popularity of some of the larger *bibanja* proprietors that, although they still exercise some authority as 'chiefs' in their areas, they are not called upon at the same time to conform to European ideas of efficiency and political morality.

[2] Of course it does not since 1955: cf. footnote on p. 108 above.

tional interdependence of chief and peasant depended on the passage between them of goods and services. 'In the old days', I was told, 'chiefs trusted and depended upon their subjects, for it was from them that they got their living: now they do not care about them, for their money comes not from the people but from the government.' Again, people often complain that chiefs no longer stay long enough in the same place to get to know their people. We have seen that as an assertion of fact this is largely true.

Our account of Nyoro chieftainship must end here. We conclude that Nyoro chiefs, like chiefs elsewhere in Africa, are expected to conform to two distinct and often incompatible standards. Expectations in regard to them are sometimes those appropriate to a 'feudal' state of affairs which has long since ceased to exist in its original form, sometimes those associated with modern Western standards which have by no means yet been fully assimilated into the political structure. In numerous contexts chiefs are required to be two different and incompatible things at the same time. To a neutral observer it must be a matter of wonder and admiration that they succeed so well.

NOTE ON TABLES

Terminology.

The following tables show county chiefs as Class I, sub-county chiefs as Class II, parish chiefs as Class III, and village headmen as Class IV.

The Sample.

The four county chiefs form a total sample as do the 25 sub-county chiefs. The parish chiefs consisted of 41 out of a total of 65 and the headmen 18 out of a total of 161.

The Tables.

Percentages were worked out on the basis of Actual Totals, i.e., the number of chiefs in each class in the sample.

In the case of Tables 4, 5 and 8 the categories are not mutually exclusive, since a man might have worked for the Central Government as well as for a mission for instance (Table 4); or as a clerk as well as a trader (Table 5.) He might also be a son of a chief as well as a brother-in-law of another chief (Table 8). Hence the figures do not necessarily total 100%.

THE NYORO

1. AGE

	Class of Chief				
	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
20–30 years	0	0	2·4	5·6	2·3
31–40 ,,	0	24·0	24·4	50·0	28·5
41–50 ,,	50·0	28·0	41·5	33·3	36·4
51–60 ,,	50·0	36·0	29·3	5·6	27·1
61–70 ,,	0	12·0	2·4	5·6	5·7
Actual Totals	4	25	41	18	88

2. EDUCATION

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
None	0	0	4·9	20·0	6·0
Primary	25·0	52·0	80·5	80·0	70·0
Secondary	75·0	48·0	14·6	0	24·0
Actual Totals	4	25	41	18	88

3. RELIGION

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
Protestant	100·0	88·0	63·4	50·0	69·3
Roman Catholic	0	12·0	36·6	33·3	27·3
Muslim	0	0	0	5·6	1·1
Pagan	0	0	0	11·1	2·3
Actual Totals	4	25	41	18	88

4. PREVIOUS EMPLOYERS

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
Central Govt.	25·0	40·0	14·6	16·7	22·7
African Local Govt.[1]	50·0	28·0	41·5	0	29·5
Mission	0	28·0	24·4	33·3	26·1
European/Asian	0	24·0	21·9	11·1	19·3
Self-employed[2]	0	16·0	19·5	28·9	21·6
Traditional ruler	0	12·0	4·9	5·6	6·8
Actual Totals	4	25	41	18	88

[1] 'African Local Govt.' here refers to employment other than that of a chief.
[2] 'Self-employed' describes a trader or business man; it excludes peasant cultivators.

5. PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT

	Class of Chief				
	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
Clerk	50·0	82·0	44·0	0	31·9
Inspector[1]	0	20·0	0	0	5·7
Police/Army[2]	25·0	12·0	17·0	0	12·8
Teacher/Clergy	0	28·0	24·4	33·3	26·1
Trader	0	12·0	7·3	22·2	11·4
Skilled labourer[3]	0	28·0	17·0	38·8	23·8
Royal retainer	0	12·0	0	5·5	4·5
Domestic servant	0	4·0	9·8	0	5·7
Actual Totals	4	20	41	18	88

6. TOTAL SERVICE AS CHIEF

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
0–5 years	0	16	31·0	37·4	25·4
6–10 ,,	0	4	19·2	31·3	15·5
11–15 ,,	75	16	19·2	18·8	21·1
16–20 ,,	0	16	23·0	12·5	17·0
21–25 ,,	0	24	7·6	0	11·2
26–30 ,,	0	12	0	0	4·2
31–35 ,,	25	12	0	0	5·6
Actual Totals	4	25	26	16	71

7. DESCENT

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
Royal clans[4]	25·0	16·0	4·9	0	8·0
Commoner	75·0	84·0	95·1	100·0	92·0
Actual Totals	4	25	41	18	88

8. RELATED TO CHIEF

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
Son of chief	100·0	68·0	51·0	39·0	55·0
In-law of chief	25·0	44·0	22·0	6·0	25·0
Actual Totals	4	25	41	18	88

[1] 'Inspector' refers to supervisory work, e.g. as a health, agriculture or education inspector or a foreman.

[2] Includes African Local Government *askari*.

[3] Includes self-employed craftsmen.

[4] Here refers to Bito clan.

9. RELATED TO 'DISTINGUISHED PERSONS'

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
Paternally	100	84	61	55	68
Through marriage	75	76	44	11	48
Actual Totals	4	25	41	18	88

Association tests.

As in the case of the Buganda figures, there is no significant association between the age of chiefs and their education, but there is a correlation that is significant between education and direct appointment. As in Buganda, Class II chiefs promoted from the parish level are less educated than directly appointed chiefs.

There is a direct correlation between relationship to a chief and the level of chieftainship reached; that is to say, the sons of chiefs tend to rise higher than others. Sons of chiefs are, however, not significantly better-educated than other chiefs, as they are in Buganda. The two higher ranks of chief are 90% Protestant and 10% Catholic, while in the two lower ranks the Protestants form 60%, the Catholics 30%.

Chapter V

THE TORO[1]

Toro lies in the western province of Uganda. Its northern boundary is formed by Lake Albert and the Semliki River; its western border is the boundary between Uganda and the Belgian Congo, which cuts across the flanks of the Ruwenzori range. Lake Edward forms its southern extremity, from whence the boundary passes through Lake George, turns north at a sharp angle and then follows the Katonga river till it reaches latitude 81°. The north-eastern neighbours of the Toro are the Ganda, while the Nyankole live to the south.

Toro contains the magnificent Ruwenzori range, nearly 17,000 feet high and about 60 miles long, the much fabled 'Mountains of the Moon'. The invigorating climate of the region encouraged European planters to settle here in the beginning of the century and the area now attracts tourists.

Toro consists of a central plateau where about 65% of the population live. It stands at a height of 4,000 feet above sea-level and is well watered and fertile. Bananas form the staple diet but millet and maize are also grown, as well as cassava, sweet potatoes and beans. In marked contrast to this fertile central plateau is the baked and arid expanse of the Semliki flats, 2,000 feet below, an area of short grass and borassus palms. Here groups of Hima cattle graze the plains and crocodiles are hunted for their skins along the Semliki bank. To the south of the Semliki flats a series of parallel ridges, divided by steep and narrow valleys, form the floor of the Western Rift valley on the western slopes of Ruwenzori. Below these serrated ridges lies the Ituri forest of the Belgian Congo. Here live the Amba, a primitive people of Congo origin who began to give tribute to their powerful neighbours, the Toro, in the middle

[1] Written by A. I. Richards from a draft prepared by B. K. Taylor, holder of a Colonial Social Science Research Fellowship, 1950–2.

of the nineteenth century.[1] They form 10% of the total population of the kingdom. In the hot and steamy valleys of Bwamba and on the ridge tops they grow robusta coffee for export, as well as bananas, maize and millet.

Another distinct region of Toro is formed by the grasslands on the mountain spurs which fall to the shores of Lakes Edward and George. Here there is a concentration of people, mainly Konjo, who have been under Toro rule since the end of the nineteenth century and who form 2% of this area's population. Coffee and food crops are grown on the mountain sides and cotton on the plains. The crater lake, Katwe, where there are thick deposits of salt, is two miles in diameter. The salt deposits were worked by the Toro long before British rule. They are now exploited commercially under the Government of Toro. A modern fish company is also organizing a market for fresh and dried fish from the lakes.

Lastly, 20% of the population of Toro live on the lower slopes of Ruwenzori. These are also mainly Konjo who grow bananas, sweet potatoes and cassava as well as some wheat, millet and a little sugar.

The Toro themselves were described as much more markedly Hamitic in appearance than the Ganda by Tucker when he visited them in 1899,[2] but this distinction in physical type is not so clear today. The Konjo are apparently shorter and more stocky than the Toro and darker in colour. They speak a Bantu language of a more primitive type than Rutoro. The Amba are lighter in colour and slight in build. Their features are negroid and they have cultural affinities with the tribes of the Congo. They live side by side with people of different stock (see p. 140).

The present Toro population numbers around 258,873, according to the 1948 Census. It is composed as follows:

Toro proper	146,493
Konjo	72,572
Amba	26,519
Other	13,289

Toro is potentially rich although its distance from the railhead has prevented its development till recently. Cotton was introduced in 1904 and is grown on peasant plots to the east and south of the central plateau. Arabica coffee is also grown. There are a few

[1] There are also a few pygmies living side by side with the Amba.

[2] A. R. Tucker, *Toro: Visits to Ruwenzori 'Mountains of the Moon'*, 1899, p. 18.

European and Asian tea and coffee estates, which date mainly from 1911–14, the period before the Government decided to put an end to the alienation of land. These estates are mostly near Fort Portal, the administrative centre of the district.

The importance of the railway and the lake-side traffic of goods to the development of an area like Toro can be demonstrated very clearly by a comparison of its economic development with that of Buganda and Busoga. In spite of its many natural advantages Toro has remained more backward than its neighbours and its men go in large numbers to Buganda to look for work—at least 10% according to Taylor's calculations. In fact Toro form the bulk of the domestic servant class in Kampala.

However, the railway has recently been extended to serve the copper mines at Kilembe on the south-eastern slopes of Ruwenzori, and the mining company already has a labour force of 2,047 Africans, 47 Asians and 180 Europeans. The economic prosperity of Toro seems therefore to lie ahead.

The economic structure of the tribes here discussed has been considered in terms of the opportunities it has provided for the emergence of a wealthy élite, which either forms a chiefly class or else exerts power over against the chiefly class. In this respect the situation in Toro differs from that in Buganda and Busoga. The arrival of Lugard in 1890 found the Toro government disintegrated after many raids from Bunyoro. The country was under the control of Kabarega, the King of Bunyoro, and its young Mukama, Kasagama, was in flight. It is unlikely that there was at this time a powerful Toro nobility able to make terms with the British Administration as was done in Buganda; nor did the new Government wish to establish the same freehold rights over land that it granted to Ganda notables by the Uganda Agreement of 1900. By the Toro Agreement of the same year, the Mukama of Toro received sixteen square miles and his district governors ten square miles each, whereas the Kabaka and notables of Buganda obtained personal possession of 9,003 square miles, originally to be divided among 1,000 people.[1] However, some Toro chiefs were reckoned to be hereditary in the sense that their offices were so important that they could not easily be dispossessed, and the Mukama continued to hand out benefices to chiefs, princes, princesses and nobles to a number reckoned as 1,000 in 1926.[2] This meant that

[1] Actually divided between 3,700 subsequently.

[2] *Enquiry into the Grievances of the Mukama and People of Toro*, 1926.

the chiefs must have been able to exact tribute from their peasants although they had no freehold rights over land. Money must therefore have been made out of cotton until it was made illegal to exact tribute labour from peasants in 1923, so that Toro notables must have achieved some wealth. There was, however, no buying or selling of land on a large scale such as took place in Buganda, and Toro has not seen the evolution of a class of wealthy men with big European houses and large country estates as in Buganda.

It is possible that the slower economic development of Toro will put money into the hands of African business men and farmers rather than into those of chiefs.

History

Toro was the last of the Interlacustrine kingdoms to establish itself in Uganda. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the present territory of Toro was part of the old empire of Bunyoro-Kitara. The ancient capital of Bunyoro, in Bugangaizi, was near the eastern border of Toro and the cattle of its Mukama grazed on the uplands of Mwenge, now part of Toro and remembered as the birthplace of many of its princes. Toro only broke away from the parent kingdom in 1830, under a rebel prince, Kaboyo, and even then it fell again under the sway of Bunyoro at the end of the nineteenth century.

According to Taylor's informants, the present kingdom of Toro was originally occupied by an agricultural people who herded short-horned cattle. As in Buganda, the clans of these first inhabitants are known as 'the people who were found' (*abasangwa*); found that is to say, by subsequent conquerors. They are said to have lived as 'small, isolated clans' at that time. The Toro repeat legends current in Bunyoro as to the domination of these first inhabitants, first by Tembuzi, about whom little is known and who have left no clan descendants today, and next by the mysterious Chwezi kings, who were accompanied, according to the Toro version, by Hima pastoralists with long-horned cattle as well as by other agricultural peoples. Toro believe that the first Chwezi king, Ndahura, who is said to have established the present territorial divisions in Bunyoro and Toro, put three lords in charge of the country which is now Toro, and that he also built a palace for his mother there. Here, as elsewhere in Uganda, legend tells of the disappearance of the Chwezi kings, and though there are apparently

members of a Chwezi clan surviving in the east of Toro, its adherents have no special status. The cult of the Chwezi spirits is very strong in present-day Toro; each clan has its Chwezi spirit and the Chwezi ritual is also important at the king's court.

When the Chwezi dynasty was succeeded by Bito rulers of Nilotic origin, Rukidi, the first of the new kings, provided a son or half-brother to rule Toro as he did for Buganda, Bunyoro and Busoga, according to Toro legend.[1]

Neither Toro legends nor the present-day ethnic distinctions seem to be consistent with Roscoe's description of the population as divided into three strata, the noble Hima pastoralist conquerors, the servile conquered Iru agriculturalists and the true slaves. Here, as in Bunyoro, there were evidently several waves of conquest described in legend as conquests by the Tembuzi, the Chwezi and the more recent Bito kings from the north. According to Taylor's informants, none of these conquerors were Hima. This is certainly true of the Bito who have ruled for several centuries and do not claim Himaship. It has been estimated that 6% of the present Toro population are members of the Bito clan, 5% are Hima and the balance are Iru with a very small number of descendants of slaves of different origins.

There were two high status groups, the royal Bito clan and the Hima. Taylor's informants, mainly commoners, told him that the Bito, the Mukama's clan, were 'created to rule'. Their leaders were formerly exempt from giving tribute to the king and from performing duties for him. They received benefices from the king but were not often used as territorial governors. Their cases were tried in a special court and those condemned to death had the right, apparently considered as a privilege, of being strangled by ropes instead of being clubbed to death or speared. Bito women might not marry Iru men, although they might marry Hima. Today members of Bito clans have high social status but can claim no special positions in the political system.

The Hima seem to have owed their high status to their wealth as cattle-owners, their aristocratic, more independent way of life, their intermarriage with the Bito, their occupation of important posts and, originally, to their physique and general appearance which Toro concede was highly attractive and which, no doubt, set them off as a people apart. Today Himaship still carries

[1] Ankole seceded before the arrival of Rukidi, according to this version, and Buganda before his death.

prestige and status. It stems now more from an acknowledgement of descent from rich, aristocratic, independent, influential and attractive cattle-owning people of a distinct stock than from the present-day possession of any of these qualities. Today, owing to a diminution in cattle numbers, the emigration of many Hima, and intermarriage with Iru and Bito, the Hima constitute a relatively small class of people who frequently possess neither cattle nor distinctive physique.

Thc Iru in this kingdom could attach themselves either to Bito or Hima lords. They acquired wealth by carrying salt from Katwe and other local deposits and by herding cattle. They might serve a local Hima lord for a year or build his kraal for him. For any such service they would be paid in cattle and could thus start a herd. Iru could also send their sons as pages to court and could thus advance up the usual ladder to political success.

The real history of Toro begins from the secession from his father's kingdom in 1830 of Kaboyo, a son of Kyebambe III, Nyamutukura, the nineteenth Bito Mukama of Bunyoro. Kaboyo gathered friends and followers and absconded with some of the royal herds. He built his stronghold in western Toro, where the local population are said to have been tired of the rule of distant Bunyoro. The rebel prince successfully withstood a punitive expedition sent by his father and defeated the forces sent against him at Kabarole near the present town of Fort Portal. His secession was afterwards condoned by his father, who was then threatened by rebels in the north of his territory, and by Ganda raiders in the east. The break-off of the new kingdom is an interesting example of a pattern of proliferation of the Interlacustrine kingdoms.[1] The new states were formed on the pattern of the old. Kyebambe III, Nyamutukura, the ruler of the parent kingdom, sent a royal drum and other regalia to his rebel son as a sign of reconciliation. The son continued to send presents to his father until the latter's death and refused to be greeted with the royal salute until that time.

Kaboyo, after the pattern of his ancestors, not only established a kingdom, but extended it. He absorbed Busongora and some territory which now lies in the Belgian Congo. The Konjo, established on the eastern slopes of Ruwenzori two or three generations earlier, began to pay him tribute. When Kaboyo died, he was

[1] Cf. this process of secession by rebellion with the Alur custom of sending out the sons of chiefs to rule over subject groups at the request of the latter; cf. A. W. Southall, *Alur Society*, 1956.

succeeded, after the usual struggle between rival sons, by Nyaika, the king who was on the throne when Speke arrived in 1862 and who ruled till 1885.

Kabarega, the warlike king of Bunyoro, had already begun to raid Toro before the death of Nyaika, and there followed a confused and turbulent period in the history of this kingdom. Toro remember over sixteen attacks by Kabarega. Two of their kings, Mukabirere and Mukalusa, were captured and carried to Bunyoro. A third, Namunyonjo, was put on the throne with the help of one of Mutesa's armies from Buganda, but he also was taken captive when the Ganda forces returned home. Kabarega is said to have killed many sons of Nyaika, leaving Kasagama, who fled with two elder brothers to Ankole.[1] Here the two brothers were killed, but he himself, then a young boy, escaped with his mother to Buddu in Buganda. When Baker, and later Stanley, visited the country in 1889, Kabarega's lords were ruling Toro.

Lugard, arriving in 1891, supported Toro against Kabarega, whom he was determined to defeat. With an army of Ganda and Sudanese he put the young Kasagama back on the throne of Toro and built a line of forts to protect Toro from Bunyoro. These were occupied till 1893 when they were evacuated by Major Owen.

Owen, who signed the first treaty with the Toro in 1894, planned to put Kasagama at the head of a federation which should include the ruler's 'own limited territory round Fort Portal',[2] together with semi-independent states such as Mwenge and Kyaka, and when the Toro Agreement was signed in 1900, Kasagama found his kingdom much enlarged through British aid at the expense of Bunyoro. To the original kingdom which had seceded from Bunyoro in 1830, and had been reconquered by the parent state in 1889, were added Mwenge, Kitagwenda, Mboga, Butuku, Bwamba and part of Kyaka, although when the boundary with the Belgians was fixed in 1908, Mboga was included in the Belgian Congo.[3] The present kingdom of Toro certainly owes its existence and expansion to British intervention.

The traditional political system

The political system of the Toro naturally resembled closely that

[1] Cf. H. R. Wallis in *Handbook of Uganda*, 1920, p. 5.

[2] Thomas and Scott, *Uganda*, 1935, p. 454.

[3] See A. L. Kitching, *On the Backwaters of the Nile*, 1912, p. 84, for an African account of the growth of Toro.

of the Nyoro. The Mukama of Toro, like the ruler of the parent kingdom, was the apex of the whole structure. He was addressed as 'Lion', 'Sun', 'Moon', 'Father of the Unfathered', 'Opener-up-of-darkness' and by similar titles. He evidently still performs ritual connected with sacred milk-pails, although it is not clear whether the kings of Toro ever carried out the full Nyoro ceremonies of herding sacred cattle or whether they passed the night in the royal dairy as did the Nyoro monarch.[1] The new moon ceremonies were celebrated in Toro, and the king had an important part to play in the cult of the Chwezi spirits.

The king was supported by a queen mother (*nyinomukama*) and a queen sister (*rubuga*), as were the rulers of the other Interlacustrine kingdoms. The *mushuga*, or head of the princes, was an important official and the king also had his ministers, keepers of his herds and other officers. As in Bunyoro, the Mukama rewarded special supporters, district governors, his own maternal uncles and other favourites by the title of 'crown-wearer' (*mujwarakondo*), 'stool-holder' (*munyakitebe*), or 'spear-holder'—titles not known in Buganda or Busoga.

The king was the head of the 150 totemic clans and sub-clans (*ruganda*; pl., *nganda*) which were recognized in Toro. Clans were arranged in a hierarchical order of status, first the royal Bito, then the clan of the reigning queen mother, next the Hima clans, those with special functions to perform at court, the Iru clans and finally those which had at one time been punished by a king and were obliged to provide sacrificial victims on occasion. Toro clans have for long been neither localized nor, with the exception of the royal clan, corporate. Their members were very widely distributed, especially in the plateau counties. People bearing similar clan names lived in the neighbouring kingdom of Bunyoro, and to a lesser extent in Ankole. Some clans were said to have overall heads (*bakuru b'enganda*). Most of these lived outside Toro. They appear to have had mainly a ritual significance. In most cases the unit of organization was the lineage (*kitabu*; pl., *bitabu*). Its leaders were known both as clan heads (*bakuru b'enganda*) and lineage heads (*bakuru b'ebitabu*). They tried cases between clan members, advised on the protection of property and on inheritance and passed on the orders of the district governors to local clan members. They were also the ritual heads of their groups. The more important leaders had direct contact with the king and presented to

[1] Cf. J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara or Banyoro*, 1923, chap. V.

him for confirmation heirs to clan titles. It was they who chose young men to be sent to court to be brought up there.

Land was divided into estates of varying size, in which the lord ruled his tenants, collected their tribute and passed the right proportion on to the superior lord or to the king himself. He also organized labour and military service to the king. His tenants gave him tribute, succession fees (*mbagwa* or *nsomerano*), marriage and burial fees, grazing fees and tribute of fish and the quarry of the hunt.

Special tenants, mainly relatives or friends of the lord, had special privileges. Land could be inherited with the Mukama's permission; given out anew by the Mukama; or handed on in association with an administrative office. In any of these cases the lord had to perform a ceremony of allegiance to the king by drinking milk before him (cf. the similar ceremony in Bunyoro).

Estates were owned by the Mukama and his relatives, by clan or lineage heads and by the king's governors.

The king's administrative officials were divided into three grades. First there were the big lords or governors (*bamasaza*) who had their own courts, messengers and pages; some of them were crown-, stool-, or spear-wearers. Next came the middle lords, the *banyabihanda* or *banyoro*, of whom the last became known as *batongole*. Some of this middle grade of district administrators might also be stool- or spear-holders, though not crown-wearers. Below them came the neighbourhood heads (*bakungu*) and below these again the heads of villages (*byaro*; sing., *kyaro*) or sub-villages (*migongo*; sing., *mugongo*). The neighbourhood heads co-operated with the local lineage heads in the collection of tribute and labour. It is probable that in some cases lineage heads were lords of one grade or the other.

Taylor believes that most of the territorial administrators were either Bito or Iru: that is to say they were definitely not Hima. It is probable that the king appointed his own tax collectors to supervise the collection of tribute by the administrative heads at different levels. The king's chief cattle-herder is mentioned and may be presumed to have supervised the king's herds grazing in every part of the country. Taylor's account does not mention military captains, given land in virtue of their undertaking to collect bands of local warriors for military service, on the pattern of the Ganda institution of *batongole*. He suggests that the senior lords were also the main war leaders.

Bwamba and the territory of the Konjo first acknowledged the supremacy of the Toro by giving tribute.

Changes introduced by the British Government

British rule in Toro began after a period of warfare and confusion. A young and inexperienced Mukama had just been placed on the throne, and it is unlikely that the district heads were of the calibre of the county chiefs of Buganda. However Toro, unlike Bunyoro, had gained immensely by the arrival of the British. The people found themselves free from border raids and with greatly increased territory. It seems to have been thought unnecessary to send Ganda chiefs to act as supervisors in this part of Uganda, either because Toro loyalty was unquestioned or because the rule of this small territory was at the time very much under the control of a British district commissioner.[1]

The agreement signed with Toro in 1900 recognized the position of the Mukama although the powers accorded him were not equal to those given the Kabaka in the Buganda Agreement of the same year. As to administration: the council of the Mukama was recognized under the title of 'Rukurato' and its composition was fixed. Ministers of the Ganda type were introduced—a *katikiro*, or prime minister and an *omuketo*, or treasurer.

The boundaries of seven counties were fixed and some amalgamation took place. Bunyangabu under the chief Mukwenda; Burahya under the Kahuma; Busongora under the Kimbugwe; Bwamba, a mainly non-Toro area, under the Kasuju;[2] Kibale under the Sekibobo; Kyaka under the Mugema and Mwenge under the Pokino.[3] There seem to have been Ganda titles added to old Toro ones.[4]

Below the county chiefs at the present time are 37 sub-county chiefs; below these are 214 parish chiefs, each ruling over about five villages, or 1,000 people on an average; and below these again are 462 village chiefs (*bakungu*) ruling over neighbourhoods. Beneath these are unpaid officials, the heads of sub-villages (*migongo*). The Mukama had the constitutional right to appoint these district chiefs according to the new scheme of administration, but the

[1] Ganda chiefs were introduced in some areas in 1920, but the experiment was a failure.

[2] See the account of the settlement of Bwamba boundaries, p. 140.

[3] Cf. *Handbook of Uganda*, 1920, p. 450.

[4] E.g., the old Mutalesa became Pokino-Mutalesa.

decision of the British district commissioner seems to have been the ruling factor.

It will be seen that the village or neighbourhood units were little changed, but that, as in other areas, county boundaries were fixed. Sub-counties on a uniform pattern took the place of the old fiefs, and a new unit, the parish, was created. The county, sub-county, parish and village chiefs are now paid; the first three levels have official councils and the first two have recognized courts.

The adaptation of the Toro system of administration was said to have been easy. In fact, however, the changes at the top three levels of chiefdom were quite radical. The custom of transferring chiefs from post to post in Toro seems also to have been an innovation. There was also to be a marked change in the position of the 'lord of the land', that is to say, the ruler of a fief or an estate inhabited by tenants.

Most of the cultivable land in Toro was actually divided into fiefs by the Mukama at the turn of the century. Freehold possession of land was only granted to the king and to the seven existing county chiefs. In 1923 the peasants' tribute was declared to be illegal and it was ordered that the Shs. 6/– a year *busulu*, or settlement fee, which the lords of the land had been receiving, should be paid into a Toro government fund. This created great discontent among the erstwhile chiefs and nobles. County chiefs created after 1900 demanded estates to equal those handed out to their predecessors in 1900. Princes and princesses declared they would suffer from loss of rent as *bataka*, or hereditary holders of fiefs. Educated Toro, the 'young men of Toro', asked for security of tenure on their own plots.[1] All had their eyes fixed with envy on the freehold landowners of Buganda.

The Committee of 1926 decided to recommend salaries and pensions for chiefs, and the seven county chiefs were to be allowed a lifetime interest in estates of 100 acres, since it was held that they had reasonably expected such estates. Sub-county chiefs were to have 49-acre official plots. 61 princes and princesses were also to receive lifetime interests in their existing estates. The *bataka* were to receive nothing. In short, the only landlords officially receiving rent were to be the Mukama, the seven county chiefs, and the 61 princes and princesses, the last two categories during their lifetime only. Certificates of occupancy were to be given to the 'young men of Toro', or to others who wished for them, but

[1] *Enquiry into the Grievances of the Mukama and People of Toro*, 1926.

these do not seem to have availed themselves of this privilege very widely.

The lord of the land therefore disappeared, officially at any rate, from Toro and the foundations of a salaried civil service were laid. Toro is, however, still without freehold ownership of land.

It remains to consider how far the chiefs of Toro are still selected on a traditional basis, that is to say, from the old royal clan of the Bito. Taylor's sample consists of all the county chiefs, 23 sub-county and 122 parish chiefs. From the figures in Table 8 it will be seen that 87·5% of all chiefs were commoners. Of these 87·7% of the parish chiefs were commoners and 85·7% and 87% respectively of the county and sub-county chiefs. This distribution differs somewhat from that in the parent state, Bunyoro, where 25% of county chiefs are still Bito, 16% of sub-county and 5% of parish chiefs. This difference may conform to pre-European usage. Were the majority of district administrators commoners in those days? It may also reflect the continuous influence of the British Administration on the selection of top-level Toro chiefs on the basis of merit or loyalty rather than by reason of their membership of the Bito clan.

There is evidence here, as in the other kingdoms, of the appearance of a ruling class. Of chiefs at all levels 45% are sons of chiefs of some kind, and for county chiefs the figure is 57%. Of the county chiefs 40% are also grandsons of chiefs of some kind.[1] Only a third of the parish chiefs are close relatives of chiefs and these have rarely succeeded their fathers in the same post.

As to education and previous training, the level of European education reached by Toro chiefs is lower than that in Buganda and Busoga and slightly lower all round than that in Bunyoro. Of Toro county chiefs 85·7% have secondary education and 14·3% university education, although it must be remembered that this is a total sample of seven chiefs, and the number of chiefs who attended Makerere College is actually only one. 10% of chiefs at all levels have had secondary education and 80·5% primary.

The proportion of men who were appointed as chiefs after a period of service at the king's court is higher than that in other areas, i.e., 10% in a sample of 152 chiefs. The percentage is highest among sub-county chiefs, 26%.[2] Mission-trained Toro became chiefs in 13·5% of the cases, the figure being highest for parish chiefs.

[1] Not included in the tables.

[2] Note that this figure is 7% in the case of Bunyoro chiefs of all grades.

Are the Toro chiefs civil servants in the sense of being men who make a regular career of administration and are promoted from grade to grade? The figures show that 37·3% of chiefs of all grades have been in service for under five years, 23·2% between six and ten years and 14·2% between sixteen and twenty years. Parish chiefs appear to be moved most frequently. Taylor calculates that a little under half the parish chiefs have served in their present post under a year, and a little under a quarter between one and three years. Just under half the chiefs at all levels have served under five years. This is a very different position from that in Buganda where the parish chiefs tend to be locally oriented and some even succeed their fathers.

Of the sub-county chiefs 43% rose from the parish level; hence their length of service is longer than that of parish chiefs. These sub-county chiefs held, on an average, one post as a parish chief before being appointed to the second level. Once this level is reached, movement seems frequent. The sub-county chiefs in office in 1951 had already changed posts on an average three times before succeeding to their present office. Four had held five different posts of this kind, and one had held as many as six. County chiefs had held two sub-county chieftainships before being promoted to the top level. Only one of the seven had been a parish chief.

Rapid movement of chiefs seems to be associated with European influence among the tribes selected here and this correlation would hold for Toro.

The position in Bwamba[1]

The administrative system of Bwamba is of interest because this is a small tribe, living in an isolated area, administered directly by a more advanced tribe, the Toro, and definitely incorporated in their kingdom.

Bwamba is an area of 164 square miles lying on the floor of the Western Rift valley below the western slopes of the Ruwenzori range. In the county named Bwamba also live the Konjo on the western slopes of Ruwenzori as well as the 3,000 Tuku on the Semliki plain. Bwamba proper is a cleft twenty to 25 miles wide in which are a series of steep ridges and narrow valleys. It is inhabited by a very heterogeneous population: Amba speaking

[1] The figures given in this section were collected by E. H. Winter, a Colonial Social Science Research Fellow, 1950–2.

Kwamba, a Bantoid language related to the Bira spoken in the Ituri forest; Bwezi speaking Lubwezi, a language like Rutoro; Vonoma speaking a Bantu language; Mvuba speaking a Sudanic dialect; and scattered pygmies speaking Kwamba. In the Bwamba valley, Amba, Bwezi and a few pygmies live side by side.

Winter writes: 'Bwamba is best viewed as being composed of a series of villages.'[1] Amba villages contain from 50 to 300 people, of which the structural core is a maximal lineage. The village territory is a section of a ridge with the streams on either side that run into the valleys as boundaries. Each such village is more or less autonomous and is governed by 'a loosely organized group of older men'. There is no recognized village head, although the maximal lineage usually has 'a speaker of the case'.[2]

The process by which the Toro assumed control over the Amba shows how easy it is for a centrally-organized kingdom to administer a segmentary society consisting of a series of continuous villages, without greatly disturbing the indigenous way of life. The new government merely performs new functions, which were not carried out before. Even today, after 35 years of direct rule by the Toro, the Amba administration seems to function at the village level very much as before, with the Toro superstructure of county and sub-county chiefs above.

Bwamba came under Toro influence during the reign of Toro's first king, Kaboyo. The Toro tried to extend their empire to the west, but their 'conquest' of Bwamba probably consisted of little more than 'occasional raids and irregular exaction of tribute' according to Winter.[3]

At the beginning of the century, before the Toro agreement had been signed, the Toro sent a chief to govern Bwamba. He used local Amba as his sub-chiefs and had his own police. He collected a considerable amount of ivory, and during his stay the Amba acknowledged the overlordship of the Mukama of Toro.

The years 1900–08 can be considered an interregnum in Bwamba history, since neither the British, the Belgians nor the Toro gave the area serious consideration. In 1908 the Anglo-Belgian boundary was fixed and Bwamba was definitely incorporated in a new county of Toro, 'Bwamba'.

The first Toro county chief was posted to Bwamba in 1912. Poll tax was exacted in 1919 and coffee introduced into these fertile valleys in 1920. A road linking Bwamba with Fort Portal and the

[1] E. H. Winter, *Bwamba*, 1956, p. 85. [2] Ibid., p. 86. [3] Ibid., p. 3.

rest of Uganda east of the Ruwenzori range was built in 1938. As a result the Amba are now becoming wealthy from the sale of their cash crops.[1]

With the beginning of settled administration, Bwamba was divided into administrative units according to the Ganda pattern. There were five sub-counties in Bwamba county and three of these were inhabited by Amba. These three sub-counties were divided into 25 parishes and each parish chief had one or two headmen (*bakungu*) to help him. All these units were obviously new, because before 1912 Bwamba consisted of isolated villages. Winter calls them 'completely arbitrary creations in terms of the traditional organization'.[2]

All the chiefs were Toro in the first instance, and likewise all agricultural, health and other inspectors and all teachers and native clergy. In 1951 the figures collected by Winter show the following:

County chief: Toro
3 sub-county chiefs: Toro
8 parish chiefs in one sub-county: 2 Toro and 6 Amba
13 headmen in one sub-county: 13 Amba.

The Toro, according to Winter, have a sense of their civilizing mission with regard to the Amba, whom they look upon as savages, and the Amba wish to be raised to the Toro level.

All county and sub-county chiefs with one exception have been Toro since 1912, and at the other end of the scale all *bakungu* chiefs have been Amba. Parish chiefs have included Toro and Amba with a diminishing number of Toro. Village disputes continue to be tried by the traditional methods, and criminal cases, or cases of infringement of Government regulations, by the Toro courts. The language of administration and education is Rutoro.

Of the Toro chiefs listed, the county chief is a large landowner in Toro and also owns a coffee plantation in Bwamba. He had a primary school education, but served previously as a medical orderly and also joined the army in the first world war. The five sub-county chiefs are all small landowners in Toro. The three chiefs posted to Bwamba proper have, or want to acquire, coffee plantations in this fertile area. Two chiefs in Bwamba are, relatively speaking, well educated. One is an ex-

[1] E. H. Winter, *Bwamba Economy*, East African Studies No. 5, 1955.
[2] E. H. Winter, *Bwamba*, 1956, p. 231.

Makerere student and the other has secondary education. Three have reached primary education only.

The eight parish chiefs seem all to have been chosen from among wealthy farmers in Bwamba. All have primary education. Two had previously been mission catechists, two native administration police while the rest had been simple cultivators.

The thirteen headmen are locally based and they may have special status in the Amba lineage system. Six had been previously employed, three as mission catechists, one as a Toro government policeman and two as P.W.D. labourers. The rest were cultivators. They are not salaried but not subject to transfer. The honorary title of *mukungu* chief is given to some men who receive no official recognition or salary.

A series of councils at all levels has been introduced in the last few years to increase the participation of Amba in the government of their territory.

Winter comments that the Toro government seems to select Amba parish chiefs on the basis of merit, as the British administrators have tried to do in other areas, and that Toro senior administrators seem to find it easy to do so in the case of a political structure in which they do not play a part themselves. Characteristic of the situation is the lack of enmity of the Amba towards the Toro. The admiration they express for Toro superiority in education and civilization seems something like that felt in many parts of Africa for British civilization in the first years of contact between black and white.

NOTE ON TABLES

Terminology.

The following tables show county chiefs as Class I, sub-county chiefs as Class II and parish chiefs as Class III.

The Sample.

A total sample of county chiefs was obtained (seven), and 23 out of the 37 sub-county chiefs. Data were also obtained from 122 out of 214 parish chiefs.

The Tables.

Percentages were worked out on the basis of Actual Totals, i.e. the number of chiefs in each class in the sample.

In the case of Tables 4 and 5 the categories are not mutually exclusive, since a man might have worked for the Central Government as well as for a mission for instance (Table 4); or as a clerk as well as a trader (Table 5). Hence the figures do not necessarily total 100%.

THE TORO

1. AGE

	Class of Chief			
	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
Under 21 years	0	0	1·1	·9
21–30 ,,	0	4·3	4·5	4·4
31–40 ,,	28·6	8·7	51·1	40·9
41–50 ,,	42·8	69·6	34·0	41·7
51–60 ,,	28·6	17·4	9·3	12·1
Actual Totals	7	23	122	152

2. EDUCATION

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
None	0	4·4	10·2	8·6
Primary	0	73·8	87·1	80·5
Secondary	85·7	21·8	2·7	10·1
Makerere	14·3	0	0	0·8
Actual Totals	7	23	122	152

3. RELIGION

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
Pagan	0	0	0·9	0·8
Protestant	85·7	87·0	65·5	70·0
Roman Catholic	14·3	13·0	33·6	29·2
Muslim	0	0	0	0
Actual Totals	7	23	122	152

4. PREVIOUS EMPLOYERS

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
Central Govt.	71·4	52·2	11·6	18·0
African Local Govt.[1]	42·9	56·5	34·8	37·7
Mission	0	13·0	14·1	13·5
European/Asian	0	8·7	18·0	16·2
Self-employed[2]	0	4·3	12·9	11·3
Traditional ruler	0	26·1	7·7	10·2
Actual Totals	7	23	122	152

[1] 'African Local Govt.' here refers to employment other than that of a chief.

[2] 'Self-employed' describes a trader or business man; it excludes peasant cultivators.

5. PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT

	Class of Chief			
	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of all
Clerk	85·7	43·4	16·1	22·6
Inspector[1]	28·6	47·8	14·0	12·2
Police/Army	14·3	17·4	16·8	16·8
Teacher/Clergy	0	4·3	14·0	12·2
Skilled labourer	14·3	4·3	5·5	5·8
Unskilled labourer	0	4·3	9·8	8·7
Trader	0	4·3	10·5	9·3
King's servant	0	26·1	7·7	10·2
Domestic servant	0	4·3	13·3	11·6
Actual Totals	7	23	122	152

6. TENURE IN PRESENT OFFICE

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of all
0–5 years	85·7	87·0	75·8	78·6
6–10 ,,	14·3	13·0	13·2	13·2
11–15 ,,	0	0	4·4	3·3
16–20 ,,	0	0	5·5	4·0
21–40 ,,	0	0	1·1	0·9
Actual Totals	7	23	122	152

7. TOTAL TENURE OF OFFICE

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of all
0–5 years	28·6	26·1	40·6	37·3
6–10 ,,	14·3	26·1	26·4	23·2
11–15 ,,	14·3	8·7	17·6	17·7
16–20 ,,	28·5	21·8	10·9	14·2
21–25 ,,	14·3	13·0	0	3·4
26–30 ,,	0	0	1·2	0·8
31–40 ,,	0	4·3	3·3	3·4
Actual Totals	7	23	122	152

8. DESCENT

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of all
Royal clans[2]	14·3	13·0	12·3	12·5
Commoner	85·7	87·0	87·7	87·5
Actual Totals	7	23	122	152

[1] 'Inspector' refers to supervisory work, e.g. as a health, agriculture or education inspector or a foreman.

[2] Here means Bito clans.

9. RELATIONSHIP TO CHIEF

	Class of Chief			
	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
Son of chief	57·1	47·8	32·6	45·0
Actual Totals	7	23	122	152

Association tests.

G. M. Teoh tested for association between age and education, age and roya descent, age and previous employment and age and direct appointment to high level chieftainships, royal descent and direct appointment but none of these factors were significantly associated.

Chapter VI

THE NYANKOLE[1]

Ankole district forms with the districts of Bunyoro, Toro and Kigezi, part of the western province of Uganda. It is bounded on the north by Toro, on the east by Buganda, on the south by Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi and on the west by Kigezi and the Belgian Congo. Ankole has considerable topographical variety. The eastern part of the country (Kashari, Mitoma, Nyabushozi and part of Isingiro counties) consists of undulating hills of about 4,000 feet, covered with short grass and few trees. The south-east, which forms part of Isingiro county, is a region of drowned lakes centred upon Lake Nakivali. In the south-west (Rwampara and Kajara counties) grassy downs rise to the hills of Kigezi district. To the west and north (parts of Igara and Shema counties, Buhweju county and part of Bunyaruguru county) the country rises to 7,000 feet, terminating abruptly at the Western Rift, which in Ankole lies some 3,000 feet lower and extends about fifteen miles to the shores of Lake Edward and Lake George.

Ankole has an equatorial rainfall regime of two wet and two dry seasons. But in the eastern part of the country the mean annual rainfall does not exceed 35 inches. In the higher, western part, the mean annual rainfall is of the order of 45 to 55 inches.

The land area of Ankole is 6,172 square miles, and its population 540,000. The mean population density is approximately 90 per square mile, but this density is by no means uniform. Apart from the characteristics of the terrain a major impediment to settlement, particularly in the east, is tsetse-fly infestation.

[1] A preliminary account written by D. J. Stenning, at the commencement of a two-year tour of field-work, on the basis of the studies of Roscoe and Oberg (J. Roscoe, *The Banyankole*, 1923; K. Oberg, 'The Kingdom of Ankole in Uganda', in *African Political Systems*, ed. E. Evans-Pritchard and M. Fortes, 1940) with additional material consisting of a sample of 255 career histories of Ankole chiefs.

The major subsistence crop of the sedentary population of Ankole was formerly millet, but in the last 50 years or so this has been supplanted over large areas by plantains. The pastoral population subsists on milk and cattle-blood. Both sections of the population, pastoral and agricultural, drink millet-beer. Cash crops are groundnuts, soya beans, maize, mixed beans, onions, peas and chillies. The export of cotton, coffee and latterly tea is being developed. Cattle on the hoof, as well as hides and skins, are exported. Nyankole migrate, in numbers which cannot be estimated here, to work on cotton or coffee estates in Buganda, as labourers in Kampala and Jinja, and as herdsmen in Buganda and Teso.

Little or no land in Ankole has been alienated to Europeans or Indians for agricultural purposes, but south-western Ankole, in particular, has for many years attracted mining interests; gold, lead, columbite, tin and beryl are exported.

Ankole has long been regarded as a somewhat backward district economically, owing mainly to its isolation but also to the conservatism of its inhabitants, particularly those in whose hands the major potential resource of the country, cattle, is concentrated.

The traditional political system of Ankole

The constitution of pre-Protectorate Ankole is embodied in Nyankole myths and legends concerning the origin of kingship and the powers of the king. Legends say that in the dim past Hima pastoralists lived in what is now eastern Ankole. To the west lived the agricultural Iru. In this period Hima and Iru were not bound by a common political system but were governed by the heads of their extended families or lineages. They exchanged the different products of their respective ways of life and lived in amity.

In common with the Nyoro, Toro and some Ruanda, Nyankole trace the descent of their kings from the mythical Chwezi and particularly their king, Ndahura, who ruled the vast kingdom of Kitara. Ndahura's sons were put to govern different parts of the kingdom, and the ruler of what became Ankole was Wamala, who lived in Bwera, which now lies in Buganda in the western part of Masaka district on the borders of Ankole.

The causes of the dissolution of Kitara can only be guessed; according to the legend, after a period of dire misfortune the Chwezi fled their kingdom and 'went into Lake Victoria'. Nyankole say that an Iru headman went after the Chwezi and persuaded one of

them, Ruhinda, to return. Ruhinda brought with him the drum, Bagyendanwa. His clan, the Hinda, became the royal house of Ankole and the drum the seal of his sovereignty over Hima and Iru alike. But in the Ankole state under the Hinda, Hima and Iru did not enjoy equal status. There is, however, no historical account of what must have been two concurrent developments, the local domination of the Iru by the Hima and the centralization of political authority among the Hima themselves.

It is perhaps not amiss to say that at the head of the state stood the drum, Bagyendanwa. It was the centre, not only of the cult of kingship, but of a cult pertaining largely to fertility, which was practised by both Hima and Iru in all kinds of distress and misfortune. The drum, it has been remarked, was the 'ideal king' of Ankole, linking all the inhabitants of Ankole to the source of power inherent in the Chwezi. Bagyendanwa was, and is, kept permanently in good repair. To this day the moon cult, in which it plays an important part, is still observed in the royal household.

The custodian of the drum was the king, the Mugabe, and possession of the drum was the king's claim to legitimacy as a ruler. Just as the drum was kept in good repair, so the person of the king, which symbolized the health of the body politic, had always to be in good health. No Mugabe was permitted to die of ill-health or old age; he would be poisoned by his wives and personal attendants. On the king's death a suitable ruler was found from among the king's sons, but the final test of eligibility was the elimination of rival brothers and the possession of the drum. During the succession wars in which the king's sons fought with arms, poison or magic, a mock-king carried on the routine of government. He was chosen from among common Hima herdsmen, again by a trial of strength in combat. He was killed when the new king ascended the throne.

The king was the personification of the state and the centre of an ideology of kingship which manifested itself in the drum cults. But in a secular sense he was also the judicial and administrative head of the kingdom. The decision to make war or peace was ultimately his. He appointed subordinate officials to carry out the work of government. He had the right and duty of judgment and punishment for certain offences, and for other offences constituted a court of appeal. The practical as well as the ritual aspect of the economic well-being of the kingdom lay in his hands, for although he amassed tribute from every section of the community, this was

used as a reserve to sustain those who suffered hardship in time of famine or cattle disease.

The government of the country was centred upon the royal kraal, wherever it might be in the course of the king's pastoral or strategic movements. In or near the royal kraal lived the king's senior advisers: his mother and sister, his 'favourite chief', or chief minister, and the leaders of the war-bands. The king's nearest relatives, his mother and sister, occupied a special position in the councils of the royal kraal and hence in the government of the country at large, since the brothers and fathers' brothers of the king were never in a position to exercise legitimate authority. In the succession wars they were either killed or forced to flee the country. The duties of the king's mother were primarily ritual, since she was the priestess of the cult of the spirits of the Mugabe's ancestors. But she also acted as adviser to the king in judicial matters, and had the duty of receiving envoys from neighbouring kings before they were admitted to the Mugabe's presence. The perquisites of the king's mother were her right to levy Hima cattle and to a share of cattle captured in raids and war.

The chief minister (*nganzi*) was the king's favourite chief, selected by him on his accession, with the advice of his mother and sister, from clans other than the royal clan. The *nganzi* was in general charge of the conduct of war, and on his advice war-leaders were chosen by the king. He was responsible for allocating war booty, principally cattle. The collection of all tribute was the responsibility of the *nganzi*. His influence and power, particularly in military affairs, may have been important in securing a relatively smooth transition from one reign to the next. He supported the king's favourite son, and his influence among the war-leaders quite possibly served to make one faction so strong that other sons acquiesced in the succession or else fled the country.

Most of the other governmental posts were filled by the king's relatives, who for the most part lived in or near the royal kraal. These were the *bagaragwa*; some were members of the royal clan, others were chosen from among sons of prominent clan leaders in the kingdom. The youths were known as 'pages' (*bashongore*). They amused the king by singing praise songs, by wrestling or by accompanying him on hunting trips. These youths might graduate to the status of warriors (*bakajwarangwe*), who formed the king's entourage in war. From among the *bagaragwa* the king, advised by the *nganzi*, selected the men who carried out the principal

administrative tasks at the local level. These were the *bakungu*. In border districts of the kingdom they were primarily in charge of defence; their kraals were deployed primarily for this purpose and they would gather warrior cattle-owners around them. These defence chiefs were known as *batware*. In more settled areas chiefs of the *bakungu* order were known as *ntumwa* (tribute-collectors) and were charged with raising levies of Hima cattle.

Other advisers of the king were his mother's relatives, principally her brothers, who were usually leaders in the king's war entourage; and older *bagaragwa* who had not been given positions in charge of defence or tribute-collection. These advisers, with the king's mother and the chief minister, formed his council in all matters of state and in most judicial affairs.

The personnel of this administrative core of the kingdom were Hima, drawn from the royal clan, from one of the clans from which the king had taken wives, and from pastoral clans whose location gave them a vital position in defence. The conduct of aggressive war, of defence, of the administration of justice at higher levels and the organization of tribute-collection were thus in the hands of Hima. It seems likely that on the king's death there was considerable disruption of administrative continuity. In formal terms this might be averted if the potential heirs to the throne married into the same clan, thus ensuring that the maternal relatives of successive kings were, broadly speaking, the same body of people. There is evidence that this was so; for the last seven generations at least Hinda males have generally married women of the royal house of Mpororo, the Shambo. But the main source of continuity in central administration was the long life of the king himself.

Since the Mugabe took concubines and wives from among the Iru, it was theoretically possible for kings to be half-Iru, and for the important positions in the state, occupied by the king's maternal relatives, to have been filled by Iru. It is not clear from the literature whether this was so or whether only sons of Hima stock were eligible for succession to the throne. In any case, a half-Iru son would have had little chance in the succession wars, since military power lay with the Hima clans. But although Hima had the organs of government in their hands, this is not to say that Iru might not occupy positions of importance both in local administration and in the king's kraal.

The day-to-day maintenance of the king's establishment was largely the work of Iru. Menial tasks were performed by slaves

(*bahuku*), drawn from the peasantry of Ankole and surrounding kingdoms. The king's artisans were Iru—carvers, tanners, clothiers and, most important, the blacksmiths who fashioned spears, knives and axes. So too were his huntsmen and musicians and some categories of personal servants. The performance of these tasks was the prerogative of certain Iru clans, within which the appropriate skills were transmitted. These men were paid with unproductive livestock, but it is possible that some may also have acquired considerable influence. Beside such tasks, the Iru performed more crucial services, which affected the whole practice of statecraft; the king's magicians, diviners, doctors and sorcerers were Iru. Their operations were necessary to secure the personal welfare of members of the court and thus to some extent of the whole kingdom. They were also an integral part of the councils of war by which cattle were acquired or new territories brought into submission and made to pay tribute.

In local affairs, too, Iru might achieve some eminence. The *nganzi* appointed collectors of the Iru tribute of millet and beer, and these were sometimes Iru themselves. They were called *bakungu*, along with the Hima defence chiefs and the Hima tribute-collectors, but whether they had an equivalent status is not clear. Today Hima deny the Iru claim that these Iru *bakungu* were territorial chiefs. It seems likely that in areas where Hima were established in the course of pastoral activities, Hima *bakungu* would be responsible for the collection of Iru tribute, although they might delegate this collection to Iru. In areas where pastoralism was only intermittently practicable, on account of disease, shortage of water and suitable grass, or unfavourable terrain, more latitude must have been given to local Iru chiefs.[1]

Since war was carried on only by Hima, both in this and in neighbouring states, and was waged primarily for cattle, with war parties depending for food on their own herds or on whatever cattle they might capture, the scene of operations must have been determined as much by pastoral as by strategic considerations. This aspect of warfare in the western Interlacustrine states has perhaps not received the treatment it deserves and it is one of the more important root causes of the fluidity of size and influence of states throughout the area. The power of these states, of which Ankole

[1] The reverse is the case in present-day local administration in Ankole. While the majority of chiefs at all levels are Iru, Hima chiefs are found in areas where there are important concentrations of pastoralists.

was only one, depended upon their ability to wage war and at the same time to safeguard the livelihood of the populace and even to increase its wealth. The cohesion of local administration within the state, the willingness of its inhabitants to be judged by the Mugabe and his court and, we must suppose, the people's belief in the power of the royal drum, depended in the last resort upon success in war. The military power of the state was provided by Hima, whose pastoral organization of migratory bands with their knowledge of extensive tracts of country and their mobile food supplies was particularly adapted to warfare. We should note again, however, that the weapons of war were not manufactured by those who waged it.

Perhaps we should regard the kings of the area as having been originally heads of strong pastoral clans, whose numbers enabled them at once to manage their pastoral affairs and to raid for cattle among neighbouring clans. Their power might have attracted neighbouring pastoralists who found it easier to ally themselves by marriage and tribute than to be despoiled. Suffice it to say that the principal relation between Hima and the Mugabe in Ankole was a military one, embodied in the institution of clientship (*okutoija*). A Hima would swear fealty to the king and present him with cattle periodically. He was obliged to perform either regular or irregular military service. He might be called to the king's kraal to serve as one of the king's warriors. But in defending his own property against those who had not sworn fealty, the resources of other clients could be used, either to mount retaliatory raids or to replace losses of cattle. Much of the sporadic warfare must have been of this nature, promoted by the self-interest of pastoral bands rather than by broad conceptions of state policy and strategy. So too, the aggrandizement and decline of states must have proceeded from complex ecological adjustments rooted in pastoral exploitation of natural resources at their peripheries, rather than from the success or failure of plans laid at the Mugabe's court and carried out under central direction. For the Hima the state was primarily an association of freemen, banded together for the defence or enlargement of their property and also for the composition of disputes between them. The Mugabe acted as judge in disputes between pastoralists, ordering compensation in cases of theft and of murder, supporting the right to blood revenge of one of the parties concerned. But these pastoral states, including Ankole, did not exist *in vacuo*. The territory over which the pastoralists

moved was inhabited by others who may have been the prior occupants, the agricultural populace, the Iru.[1] Legends indicate that there was a period in which Iru and Hima, while not intermarrying, carried on a form of symbiosis not uncommon in other parts of Africa, exchanging the peculiar products of their different ways of life—beer, cereals and craft products for milk, meat and manure—to their mutual advantage. This peaceful co-operation at the lowest levels of social organization runs through the relationships of Hima and Iru to this day.

Differential legal and political statuses of Iru and Hima were associated with relationships pertaining to the latter's state organization. With the growth of central organization, the exchange between Hima and Iru became not only that of commodity for commodity, but of goods for services. Iru furnished tribute in the form of beer, cereals and craft objects to the Hima state in exchange for military protection by Hima warriors. This interpretation of the political relationship of Iru and Hima in the pre-Protectorate period is one used by many educated Hima today.

The legal and economic status of Iru was inferior to that of Hima. Accumulation of wealth was denied them since they might not own productive cows or engage in war. In cases involving Hima and Iru, the latter were at a disadvantage; there was no redress, for example, for the kinsfolk of an Iru killed by a Hima. The facilities of the king's court were, moreover, not available in cases between Iru and Iru, which were judged by the elders of Iru communities. The king's court had to do with Iru largely in administrative cases, for instance, if an Iru complained of an over-zealous tribute-collector.

Since this paper is concerned with the status and role of chiefs, it is pertinent to summarize this aspect of the pre-Protectorate Ankole state. The main posts in central government were held by Hima, members of the royal clan, of the clans from which the king's wives were drawn, and from prominent clients' clans. The path of advancement for a Hima, both in status and in wealth, lay primarily in military prowess; and the right to collect tribute derived from this. There is no knowledge of the extent to which pastoral Hima in the area west of Lake Victoria were independent of state organization. It seems that accumulation of wealth in cattle turned

[1] A modern version of the state myths (A. G. Katate, and L. Kamugungunu, *Abagabe b'Ankole*, 1955) makes no mention of that commonplace of Interlacustrine ethnology, the immigration of Hamitic herdsmen into the Bantu agricultural societies of the area. This is regarded by contemporary authorities as a pernicious doctrine, 'likely to undermine the unity of the people'.

upon involvement in state affairs, and the first step was to become the client of the king and to fight in his name.

Iru played little part in any aspect of administration except in areas where pastoralism was temporarily impracticable, where they might achieve the status—disputed today—of tribute-collectors. Nevertheless, it seems likely that craft and ritual specialists, particularly those employed in the royal kraal, might achieve influence and a certain degree of wealth. To what degree this was later translated into local political power is not certain.

Accounts of the pre-Protectorate political system of Ankole give little clue as to the period in which the institutions described were held to have flourished. We may take it that the informants of Roscoe and Oberg were describing the Ankole of the later part of the nineteenth century. This was a period of successful conquest and expansion when the military and administrative institutions discussed were possibly in their fullest flower. Again, Roscoe and Oberg take little account of alterations in the size of the kingdom of Ankole caused by defeat or conquest in war, or of striking changes of an ecological nature which must have affected the complexity of political institutions. For a description of the expansion of Ankole we must rely on a different source[1] in which oral material relating to this problem is discussed and in which archival records of the early years of the British Protectorate are summarized.

The traditions of many of the petty states of north-west Tanganyika as well as of Urundi claim, along with Ankole, that Ruhinda was their founding ruler. On his death, the large state of which he was the ruler broke up. One of his sons, Nkuba-ya-Rurama, inherited an area known as Kaaro-Karungi ('The Beautiful Land'), which lay between the rivers Kagera and Ruizi. This kingdom probably corresponded roughly with the present Ankole county of Isingiro. In the period covered by the reigns of Nkuba-ya-Rurama and his nine successors, Kaaro-Karungi was subjected to raids by more powerful neighbours, principally the Nyoro to the north, who coveted its excellent grazing grounds.

During the reign of the twelfth Mugabe, Ntare, in the early eighteenth century, Kaaro-Karungi began a process of expansion which continued into the Protectorate period. The Nyoro attacked

[1] H. F. Morris, 'The Making of Ankole', *Uganda Journal*, vol. 21, No. 1, 1957.

Kaaro-Karungi and carried off the royal drum, Bagyendanwa; but when the desecrators were about to cut it open, they were struck by lightning and the drum bled. Impressed by this omen, the king of Bunyoro returned the drum to Ntare. The latter had his revenge when the forces of Bunyoro, returning from a raid in Ruanda, were decimated by Ntare and his warriors. From this event, Kaaro-Karungi became known as Nkore.[1] When the mother of the king of Bunyoro heard of his defeat she cried, 'The cows of Kaaro have broken my heart' (*Ebi shi ente za Kaaro, zankora omunda*).

Ntare's grandson, Kahaya I, continued to encroach on the Nyoro; he occupied what are now the counties of Kashari and Nyabushozi, and his influence extended across the present Mitoma county to the Katonga river. He also gained control, by fortunate marriage alliances, over what are now the counties of Rwampara and Shema, at the expense of the neighbouring kingdom of Mpororo. The two reigns following that of Kahaya I saw a further extension of Ankole influence. Buhweju was invaded, and Kabula, then part of Bunyoro and now in Masaka district, was overrun. About 1870, Ntare, the great-great-grandson of Kahaya I, came to the throne, and during his reign Buhweju, Igara and Buzimba (now part of Buhweju and Mitoma counties) recognized his suzerainty.

In 1889, Stanley passed through Nkore, and blood brotherhood was made between him and a member of the royal family; Ntare did not forget that Stanley had fought against his enemies, the Nyoro. After 1890 Nkore became crucial to British plans, for it lay between the German sphere of influence in the north-west of present Tanganyika and the recalcitrant Nyoro. In 1891 Lugard went to Nkore, and Ntare made a treaty with him accepting the protection of the Imperial British East Africa Company and undertaking to prohibit the passage of arms through his country. In 1894, the Mugabe's representative, his *nganzi*, Nuwa Mbaguta, and the British representative, Cunningham, concluded a further treaty. There was to be peace between the British and Nkore. British subjects were to have access to Nkore to trade and to possess property. Ntare was not to cede territory or to enter into any form of treaty with any foreign power (the Belgians or the Germans) without consent.

[1] Of which the name of the present district, Ankole, is an anglicized corruption.

The Beginning of British Administration

The occupation of Nkore and the establishment of a British civil officer there in 1898 arose through the flight of Kabaka Mwanga of Buganda to German territory. He left behind him in south-western Buganda and in parts of eastern Nkore bands of free-booters whose raids were a source of disquiet to the Protectorate Government, since many Nkore chiefs either supported the exiles or were powerless to oppose them.

The early administrators clearly regarded the kingdom of Nkore as a centre from which stable government could be introduced to an area that was of special significance because it lay on the borders of Belgian and German territory, adjacent to the troublesome Nyoro, and alongside a remote and politically unsavoury part of Buganda. The British policy in Nkore was, in effect, to continue and support the process of expansion which had been going on during the previous hundred years. Petty kingdoms which lay within the traditional orbit of the Nkore state were to be brought into effective control by persuading their rulers, by force or argument, to recognize the Mugabe of Nkore as their suzerain. In this the British were aided by the astute and accommodating *nganzi* of Nkore, Nuwa Mbaguta. By 1901, Bunyaruguru, Igara and Buhweju were brought under control in this way. Kajara, part of the Mpororo kingdom, remained aloof until 1914.

After a number of boundary and frontier changes, which need not be detailed here, the district of Ankole came to comprise ten counties or major administrative units. Their relationship to the pre-Protectorate kingdom of Nkore is indicated briefly below:

(1) Isingiro	The old Kaaro-Karungi; the nucleus of the kingdom of Nkore.
(2) Shema	Formerly part of the kingdom of Mpororo.
(3) Rwampara	” ” ” ” ” ” ”
(4) Nyabushozi	Taken by conquest at the expense of Bunyoro.
(5) Kashari	” ” ” ” ” ” ” ”
(6) Mitoma	” ” ” ” ” ” ” ”

The territory covered by the above counties, together with part of what is now western Masaka district, Buganda, formed the widest extent of Nkore in pre-Protectorate times to which the political system outlined above applied. Although Roscoe states that Nkore was divided into sixteen districts, each under its *mukungu*, and

we may infer that this is the area he had in mind, there is little further evidence about the exact territorial subdivision of the kingdom.[1]

Territory to the west added by the British as part of their early policy of unification comprises the present counties of:

(7) Igara	A kingdom of similar status to Nkore until the mid-nineteenth century, when it became its tributary. This relationship was formalized by the British.
(8) Buhweju	A kingdom that came into the sphere of influence of Nkore in the eighteenth century, when the power of the Nyoro south of the Katonga River declined. Buhweju, however, had to be subdued by British military action.
(9) Bunyaruguru	An offshoot of the kingdom of Mpororo, its inhabitants augmented in the late eighteenth century by refugees from a Buganda succession war, and in the nineteenth century by Konjo from the eastern Ruwenzori.
(10) Kajara	Formerly, with parts of Shema, Rwampara and Ruanda, constituted the kingdom of Mpororo; it was not incorporated till 1914, owing to boundary disputes with the Germans and Belgians.

Hard upon the consolidation of the district of Ankole in the guise of a unified kingdom came the Ankole Agreement of 1901. This was the first treaty between the British and Ankole in which the powers of the king and chiefs were circumscribed or enlarged by Protectorate law. The chiefs of major administrative divisions were recognized as such by the Administration, and their right to nominate successors was upheld. In Nkore there seems to have been little conflict between the hereditary principle and that of appointment. Though the office of *mukungu* was in principle hereditary, the Mugabe could at will move *bakungu* for duty to different parts of the kingdom and might dismiss them if, for example, they had fought against him in a succession war. In Nkore there appears to have been no class of chief connected with specific territories on a basis of descent. Today, only in Buhweju is the chief's successor appointed on an hereditary basis. Under the Agreement the major

[1] Some of the sections of the Hinda clan listed by Roscoe (op. cit., pp. 6–9) are not clan sections at all, but war-bands charged with the defence of different parts of the kingdom. An analysis of these and other war-bands not listed by Roscoe will furnish a clearer picture of the administrative divisions of Ankole, at least for the 1890's, but it was not possible in the time available for this survey to include this evidence.

chiefs were responsible for the collection of hut and general tax and were to retain a percentage of the value raised. They were henceforth prohibited from levying tribute. They were to dispense customary law in their territories, appeals lying with the Mugabe's council or the district commissioner.

In course of time the organization of local administration in Ankole, as in other Interlacustrine states in Uganda, received the firm imprint of Ganda influence. This appears to have been due, not so much to the Ganda chiefs brought in to fill administrative posts—for these were few and their tenure short—as to the policy of the British Administration. For instance the king's council was, for many years, known as *lukiko* rather than *ishengyero*, his chief minister as *katikiro* rather than *nganzi*. The major administrative divisions became known as *saza*, or counties, and their chiefs received titles of Ganda origin. In Ankole these titles have none of the ritual or ceremonial significance of their country of origin:

Saza chief of	Isingiro	Mugema
	Shema	Kaigo
	Rwampara	Mukwenda
	Nyabushozi	Kahima
	Kashari	Katambara
	Mitoma	Sekibobo
	Igara	Pokino
	Buhweju	Kangaho
	Bunyaruguru	Kitunzi
	Kajara	Kasuju

The counties were divided into sub-counties, again called by a Ganda term, *gombolola*. The incumbents held titles current in Buganda; these were *mumyuka*, *sabadu*, *sabagabo*, *sabawali*, *musale*, *mutuba* I, *mutuba* II, and so forth.

Each sub-county was divided into parishes (*miruka*; sing., *muruka*), and the parish chiefs in a sub-county were similarly given the titles of *mumyuka*, *sabadu* etc. For some time the leaders of communities in a parish were known by the Ganda term *batongole*, but later the traditional term *bakungu* was revived and used for this much humbler type of official.

Subsequent changes in the duties and status of chiefs in Ankole are embodied in the local provisions of Protectorate Ordinances.[1]

[1] Courts Ordinance (1911); Native Authority Ordinance (1919); Native Law Ordinance (1919); Courts Ordinance (1919); Native Courts Ordinance (1941); African Local Government Ordinance (1949); District Administration (District Council) Ordinance (1955); Eishengyero of Ankole, Constitutional Regulations (1955); District Administration (Chiefs Disciplinary) Regulations (1955).

It has not been found possible in the time allotted to the survey to give a detailed account, either by documentary or field research, of the effects of these ordinances upon local administration in Ankole.

The Sample of Career-Histories

The survey was made in February–March, 1957, and took five weeks to complete. The method was by questionnaire, completed both by referring to African Local Government records and by interview.

In February, 1957, the data available were returns made in 1954 and 1956. There was no record of deaths, retirements, resignations, dismissals or transfers occurring in the six months preceding the study. Nevertheless, questionnaires were completed as far as possible from existing records for all county chiefs, all sub-county chiefs, all parish chiefs in one sub-county in each county and a random selection of paid headmen in each county.

An itinerary was planned, and to the anthropologist in his first weeks of field-work in Ankole the principal attraction of carrying out the survey was that it took him to every part of the district, so that he could gain an impression of the ecological diversity of the country. At the same time he was able to meet men who would be of help in other aspects of the study of Ankole.

In practice it was not possible to get information that was as complete as had been planned. The sample of headmen (*bakungu*) could not readily be mustered, although a number of such chiefs were assembled and also some of their unpaid assistants.

Finally, a total of 255 chiefs of all grades were interviewed. These are tabulated below by counties:

County	*County*	*Sub-county*	*Parish*	*Paid Headmen*	*Unpaid Headmen*	*Totals*
I. Shema	1	5	3	11	13	33
II. Rwampara	1	8	6	4	8	27
III. Mitoma	1	4	4	4	4	17
IV. Nyabushozi	1	6	5	3	2	17
V. Bunyaruguru	1	3	6	5	4	19
VI. Igara	1	6	7	4	—	18
VII. Kashari	—	3	5	4	4	16
VIII. Kajara	—	5	13	18	12	48
IX. Buhweju	1	4	11	8	5	29
X. Isingiro	1	6	15	7	2	31
Totals:	8	50	75	68	54	255

There are approximately 1,500 chiefs of all grades in Ankole, and nearly 17% of the total were interviewed. This total includes an estimated total of 653 unpaid headmen, who are not listed in African Local Government records, but officials said that parish chiefs had between *nil* and three unpaid headmen in their units.

There are 847 salaried chiefs in Ankole; 30% of these were interviewed. Within each county, the percentage of salaried chiefs interviewed, and the percentage in each grade interviewed, varied:

		County	*Sub-county*	*Parish*	*Paid Head-men*	*Total*
I. SHEMA	No of chiefs	1	5	35	65	106
	No. interviewed	1	5	3	11	20
	%	100·0	100·0	8·6	16·9	18·8
II. RWAMPARA	No. of chiefs	1	8	55	76	140
	No. interviewed	1	8	6	4	19
	%	100·0	100·0	10·9	5·3	13·5
III. MITOMA	No. of chiefs	1	5	25	31	62
	No. interviewed	1	4	4	4	13
	%	100·0	80·0	16·0	12·8	10·9
IV. NYABUSHOZI	No. of chiefs	1	7	34	38	80
	No. interviewed	1	6	5	3	15
	%	100·0	85·7	14·7	7·8	18·7
V. BUNYARUGURU	No. of chiefs	1	3	12	12	28
	No. interviewed	1	3	6	5	15
	%	100·0	100·0	50·0	41·7	53·6
VI. IGARA	No. of chiefs	1	7	48	66	122
	No. interviewed	1	6	7	4	18
	%	100·0	85·7	14·5	6·0	14·7
VII. KASHARI	No. of chiefs	1	5	32	33	71
	No. interviewed	—	3	5	4	12
	%	—	60·0	15·6	12·1	16·9
VIII. KAJARA	No. of chiefs	1	5	39	56	101
	No. interviewed	—	5	13	18	36
	%	—	100·0	66·6	32·1	35·6
IX. BUHWEJU	No. of chiefs	1	4	19	25	49
	No. interviewed	1	4	11	8	24
	%	100·0	100·0	57·8	32·0	48·9
X. ISINGIRO	No. of chiefs	1	6	34	47	88
	No. interviewed	1	6	15	7	29
	%	100·0	100·0	44·1	14·9	32·9

Interviews

County and sub-county chiefs were interviewed alone in their offices or houses, usually through an interpreter, although some

were able to give the answers themselves in English. Parish chiefs and headmen were interviewed at a more or less public meeting in the sub-county court-house in the presence of their sub-county and sometimes of their county chief. These formal interviews were sometimes preceded or followed by routine business meetings. Chiefs were interviewed in order of seniority and stood in their places or came into the centre of the court-house.

There was a general tendency for informants to give a standard of education higher than that given in the African Local Government records. When older men gave a standard reached in types of school now obsolete these were approximated to the current standards.

The reliability of an informant's estimate of his age increased with the amount of schooling he had had. When illiterates gave ages which were absurd the meeting was asked to check the calculation. Some chiefs were found to keep notes containing the dates of major events in their lives.

Informants were asked, 'Are you a Hima or an Iru?' Ganda, Konjo and Myaruguru indicated that these categories did not apply to them but among the Nyankole, Hima described themselves at once as such, while most Iru admitted to being members of the Iru group. Some however gave answers such as, 'I am a Nyankole' or 'I am a cultivator' or 'I am an Iru but my mother was a Hima'.

In meetings near the road or at county headquarters or at district headquarters at Mbarara, or in small relatively densely-populated sub-counties chiefs asked a number of questions which showed considerable interest. Examples of the range of questions are, 'What good will your enquiry do us?' 'When will your findings appear?' 'Will they be in English or Runyankole?' 'Will you publish names?' (asked with a desire for publicity, not anonymity). 'When you publish your book, why shouldn't we have a share of the profits, since we have given you information?' 'Are you a salaries commission; do you think our salaries are reasonable?' 'Why do you ask about clans; do you have clans in your country? How do you marry?' 'What was your father's occupation?'

Analysis of results

The survey was the first piece of field-work done by the author in Ankole. A background of conclusions about the more general

features of the political and administrative system of Ankole is therefore missing. Nevertheless, the survey has served to open up to the author many lines of enquiry, and these notes should be read in this light—as pointers to problems which will be examined in subsequent field-work.

Since modern Ankole was formed by the amalgamation of several smaller kingdoms, chiefs were asked their tribal affiliation. The results were as follows:

	I	*II*	*III*	*IV*
Ankole	75%	92%	90·6%	75%
Others	25%	8%	9·3%	25%

It is not certain to what degree this table reflects the tribal composition of Ankole district, and this remains to be more fully explored. In the lower grades of chief (paid and unpaid headmen) the non-Ankole elements were found in peripheral counties such as Kajara, which has a complement of immigrant Kiga and Ruanda; in Igara, in which Kiga are being settled; and in Bunyaruguru, where there are communities of Konjo. In the higher grades, the non-Ankole chiefs are mainly Ganda.

The figures collected showed also the local, traditional nature of the lower grades of chief, and the bureaucratic nature of the higher grades who may be transferred from post to post for administrative reasons.

	I	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*
	%	%	%	%	%
Served in					
1 unit	50·0	38·0	54·6	89·8	98·1
2 units	12·5	26·0	30·6	4·4	1·9
3 units	12·5	24·0	10·6	5·8	
4 units	25·0	6·0	4·0		
5 units		6·0			

It was also found that 37·5% of county chiefs were born in the same county as that which they were now administering, and 34% of sub-county chiefs, whereas 81·3% of parish chiefs, 86·9% of paid headmen and 88·9% of unpaid headmen were born in the same county as the one in which they were working at the time of the survey.

The Descent Table (8) shows a consistent increase in the percentage of Hima chiefs with higher grades of chief. This might be interpreted in two ways, depending on the appraisal of what is known of the pre-Protectorate political rights and duties of Hima

and Iru. Either one might say that, in spite of changes brought about by British ideas of administration, the Hima have kept effective local administrative control or one might say that the same changes have resulted in modifications of the traditional system whereby Iru may now rise to positions formerly denied them. The indications are that further research will show that in the attainment of chiefly office 'Hima-ship' is today only one consideration, although an important one, among others which include education, religious affiliation and simple administrative expediency.

In the Mean Age Table, 1(*b*), age increases with chiefly grade in the salaried posts, while the mean age of unpaid headmen lies between that of sub-county and parish chiefs. It appears that the leaders of the smallest units are still 'traditional' and still 'elders'. But these are men who, while receiving no pay, are recognized in their counties as the fittest to transmit government orders to their communities. It remains to be seen whether unpaid headmen (and for that matter paid headmen) tend also to hold positions of traditional authority, as lineage heads, cult-leaders or in other capacities in their communities. There are doubtless considerable local variations in this respect, principally due to the incidence and influence of missions.

In the Age Distribution Table, 1(*a*), we should note the occurrence of men in the 60–9 decade only in the headmen grades. The men in the paid headmen grade in the 20–39 decades are the men with above-average educational standards. Another anomaly brought to light by this table is the single county chief in the 80–9 decade, whose colleagues cluster about the 50–9 decade. He is the county chief of Buhweju, the only remaining hereditary county chieftainship in Ankole.

Admissions of paganism occurred only in the headmen grades (cf. Table 3). There is a small number of Muslim unpaid headmen and parish chiefs, although they were not encountered in the survey. The direct relation between Protestant affiliation and the chief's grade reflects the role of the Protestant Church Missionary Society as the 'established church' of Ankole. This also has a bearing on the larger proportions of Hima in the higher grades. In Ankole, Hima court circles were first converted to Protestant Christianity.[1] The Catholic missions followed and found their con-

[1] In 1899, through the pioneer efforts of Bishop Tucker and Sir Albert Cook. See Sir Albert R. Cook, *Uganda Memories*, 1945, pp. 118 ff.

verts among the Iru. The proportions of Catholic chiefs in the samples are perhaps distorted by the relatively full coverage of the county of Bunyaruguru, which has long formed a Catholic enclave.

The higher the grade of chief, the higher the educational standard. Men with no schooling were found only in the headmen grades and this fact is connected directly with the proportions admitting to paganism, since primary education is largely in the hands of the missions. English-speakers were found only in county, sub-county and parish grades, in descending proportion. Education is clearly of considerable importance in the appointment of chiefs, but the discontinuities in Table 2(*a*), particularly among sub-county chiefs, suggest that other factors, which will be discussed below, are also at work.

Table 4 concerning employment in general shows clearly that previous employment in Central Government, African Local Government, missions or in trade is of increasing importance in the appointment of chiefs, the higher the grade involved. Central and local government employment also appears to be of more importance than employment in missions or trade. But the Tables show little consistency, either in the proportions involved or in duration of employment. Clearly, experience in one or more fields may be of equal value in determining appointment. Further factorization on the basis of education and preferment is also required and this will be attempted below.

The Length of Service in Present Post Table (6) tallies with the figures for Mean Age. The Total Length of Service Table (7) also corresponds with information previously presented. Headmen have a greater distribution consonant with their local and traditional status and lesser degree of previous employment. Among the paid headmen, we should note the relatively high proportions with service under five years, which is correlated with both the proportions in the lower age-groups and their higher educational standard. The distribution of county chiefs, and more particularly that of the sub-county chiefs, suggest that a closer examination should be made of these grades as to the basis of education and preferment.

In all these Tables there is a striking correspondence between the number and status of relatives and the grade of chief. The higher the grade, the more relatives mentioned who held office, and the higher those offices. These Tables argue in general terms that in Ankole preferment on the basis of kinship connections is,

and has been, of considerable importance in the appointment of chiefs of all grades. The Tables on education, previous employment and descent show that these factors, too, are of consistent and similar importance in the selection of chiefs. It may be argued that opportunities for formal education and the forms of employment dependent upon it, are also affected to a considerable degree by kinship and 'caste' connections, and that these are expressed ultimately in chiefly office.

Clearly there is room for considerable study of the economic status of chiefly families in each 'caste', of their representation in positions of influence in the schools and missions, in the various organs of government, both central and local, and in formal and informal councils and factions at all levels in the society. On the basis of the present survey, there was no way of confirming that in Ankole the final attainment of the educated and well-connected man does in fact lie in a chiefly office appropriate to his endowments. We do not know whether, for example, an educated man may not aspire to permanent service and advancement in a Protectorate Government post, or whether a parish chief may not relinquish his appointment in order to engage in commerce.

Meanwhile we must turn from a comparison of grades of chief *en bloc* to examine some of the discontinuities in the data presented above. These will show that there are alternative routes to chieftainship in each grade, depending on the personal circumstances of the individuals.

Routes to Chieftainship

In this section we shall look a little more closely at the previous employment of chiefs in each category in relation to their age, educational standard and kinship connections.

Unpaid Headmen

The principal feature of this sample is that, compared with other grades of chiefs, a low proportion (29·6%) had been previously employed. A summary of employment of these chiefs is given in Tables 4 and 5. 70·4% of the unpaid headmen had never been employed, and in this group are all the pagans except one in the sample as well as nearly all the unpaid headmen who are recorded as having had no schooling. Of the 29·6% of these class V chiefs

who had held paid employment one was a clerk and four were catechists but the rest held very lowly posts.

It might be thought from this that the unpaid headmen 'never-employed' are a section of the sample whose qualifications are age and kinship connections rather than youth, education at even the lowest level and employment in one of the fields covered by the survey. There is, however, only half a year's difference between the mean age of those 'never-employed' and those who had been employed. The difference between the mean ages of those who had had no education and those with some primary schooling was two and a half years. More conclusive is the fact that the kinship connections of this group and the status of those kinsmen were nearly double that of the 'never-employed' group. Even in this low grade of chief we may see the relation between kinship connection, education and the employment that goes with it, and appointment to chieftainship.

Paid Headmen

In this sample 60·8% had been previously employed, including for the present purposes those who had acted as unpaid headmen. Service in the latter category, as well as work as *askaris*, mission teachers and headmen are the main qualifications for posts as paid headmen.

Parish Chiefs

In this sample there is nearly a complete record of previous employment. The jobs held by parish chiefs are similar to those held by headmen as *askaris*, mission teachers, foremen and headmen. There is however a higher proportion of clerks (16%) and these had an educational standard higher than average (Primary IV–VI) and a lower age average (28·5%). The sample shows the stress beginning to be laid on bureaucratic experience at the expense of unlettered authority. Parish chiefs also have a higher average length of employment than headmen.

Sub-county Chiefs

The routes to sub-county chieftainship may be grouped according to previous employment and the point of entry on to the chiefly scale. All in the sample had had previous employment.

A. Through grades of chief only. Two out of 50 sub-county chiefs had reached their position after acting successively as headman and parish chief and it is not surprising that these were men of above average age, of relatively low standard of education and without special chiefly connections.

Six out of 50 sub-county chiefs had been promoted from the rank of parish chief.

Men of this group clearly owed their appointment to their kinship connections and caste affiliations. Five were Hima. Kinship connections, and the status of those kinsmen, were above average. One, the brother of the Mugabe's wife, was 36 years of age; the rest fell into the 40–59 groups. Five had spent less than seven years in parish chieftainship, well below the sample's average for previous employment. One had spent sixteen years as a parish chief: this was the only Iru in the group. The ages of men in this group, and the fact that there is no corresponding group in the parish chief sample, suggest that this mode of preferment has been superseded.

B. Through previous employment to headman, thence through chiefly grades to sub-county chief:

Askari—Headman—Parish chief—Sub-county	1
Trade— „ — „ „ — „	1

These were men in their fifties with Primary II–III education. Both were under average in terms of their stated kinship connections.

C. Through previous employments of different kinds to parish chief and thence to sub-county chief. 26 sub-county chiefs reached their present position after service as parish chiefs; of these fourteen or 54% had first acted as African Local Government employees. This last group represents the main avenue of promotion to the rank of sub-county chief. It is largely composed of the men shown in the previous sample as attaining parish chieftainship after periods of employment as clerks in African Local Government. Their ages ranged from 30–59 and their educational standard from Primary III to Senior I. Their length of previous employment was five to 26 years. Three were Hima, one Ganda and the rest Iru. The data suggest long-standing and continuing reliance at the sub-county level upon men with experience in the clerical

aspects of administration rather than on privilege or personal status.

These sub-county chiefs had served with the Central Government and their promotion seems to have been a case of preferment. All had been veterinary guards and one had been a supervisor of the Mugabe's herds. Their educational standard was only Primary II and III and their length of employment lower than the average. They had no more kinship connections with those in authority than was usual in the sample, but all were Hima.

D. Through previous employment direct to sub-county chieftainship. Fifteen sub-county chiefs fall into this category. Of these all except missionary teachers had held clerical posts. The group is distinguished by its low average age, i.e. 38 as distinct from the average of 46 for the whole sample; its educational standard was high compared with that of the whole sample. Except a man who had been in trade (cattle and building) all had had secondary education. Those at the bottom end of the educational scale (Secondary I and II) had acted as clerks and one of these who had worked in trade, local and Central Government was an exceptional individual who had contributed to Runyankole vernacular literature. Those at the top end of the educational scale (Secondary III–VI) had acted respectively as interpreter, veterinary assistant, health inspector and headmaster. Their kinship connections with those in authority were above the average for the group, but it contained a few very well-connected men, all Hima, and this raised the level. These latter had been appointed earlier in life to sub-chieftainships than had their colleagues but clearly their appointment did not rest on their kinship connections alone. They were men who had taken full advantage of the educational opportunities which the wealth and status of their families had put in their way. The proportion of the whole sample which this group represents again illustrates the importance of education and experience outside the main ladder of chiefly positions.

County Chiefs

All these, including the hereditary chief of Buhweju, had had experience in previous employment outside the chiefly ladder. Seven out of the eight county chiefs had previously been sub-county chiefs and one had been local government treasurer. They

had been appointed after serving as clerks (four), as schools inspector or teacher (two), as medical or veterinary assistants (two). It should be noted that none had served as parish chiefs. Their major experience had been gained in fields outside local administration, but in jobs with considerable scope and responsibility. Indeed it seems that those posts more closely connected with local government—the clerkships in African Local Government and district administration, are of less account than Central Government posts in this respect; the mean length of employment in clerkship was seventeen years, and of employment in other jobs, nine years.

Summary

It can be seen from this examination of previous employment that at each level of chieftainship there is a hard core of chiefs who have been promoted from lower down the ladder. But as we go up the scale, it is found that experience in posts outside the chiefly grades becomes more important. Men with such experience are not merely additions to the cadre of local chiefs, since the numbers required grow progressively less the higher the grade. Moreover, since the average age of each grade is higher than its lower neighbour (except in the case of unpaid headmen), while length of service in present appointment also increases with seniority (again except for the unpaid headmen), it may be argued that this process is one which had been going on with some consistency for at least the last fifteen years, and partially for a longer period.

In general terms, the traditional pattern of administrative authority in Ankole was that of a ruling pastoral 'caste', the Hima, set in both local and central administration over an inferior 'caste', the Iru. It can be seen from the survey that today, the Iru are numerically superior in local administrative positions; while it should be added that in the African Local Government headquarters, Iru play no mean part, since half the major posts, including that of *nganzi*, are filled by Iru.

This ascendant position of Iru is due in part to administrative expediency, since the task of modern local government in Ankole requires a greatly expanded body of officials at all levels. It is certain that demographically it has been impossible for Hima to fill all these posts. Secondly, education is open to Hima and Iru alike, and of all the variables we have tried to consider, this is the most independent. Preferment on the basis of kinship ties is also

still an important factor in the appointment of chiefs, particularly at the sub-county level. In this we have dwelt upon preferment of Hima, but there is no doubt that among Iru today, family ties are not unimportant in the placement of candidates for chiefly office. One further factor has eluded us in the survey, the importance of religious affiliation in the appointment of chiefs.

In administrative affairs, of which the appointment of chiefs is only a part, there are clear indications from sources outside the scope of this survey that factions play an important part. They are no longer merely those of former caste differentiation or clan membership, but are aligned also by considerations of religious affiliation. All these considerations have to be set alongside statutory requirements and the personal influence of British administrators, which have not as yet been studied. This survey indicates, however, that whatever the play of these forces in the appointment of chiefs at all salaried levels, school education and experience outside the chiefly grades have become an established factor in the appointment of chiefs.

NOTE ON TABLES

Terminology.

In the following tables, county chiefs are shown as Class I, sub-county chiefs as Class II, parish chiefs as Class III, paid headmen as Class IV and unpaid headmen as Class V.

The Sample.

The sample consists of eight county chiefs and 50 sub-county chiefs together with some parish chiefs from one sub-county in each county (75) and a random selection of paid headmen in each county (68).

The Tables.

Percentages were worked out on the basis of Actual Totals, i.e. the number of chiefs in each class in the sample. The refusal rate was, however, low and there was little difference between Actual Totals and Totals.

In the case of Tables 4 and 5 the categories are not mutually exclusive, since a man might have worked for the Central Government as well as for a mission for instance (Table 4); or as a clerk as well as a trader (Table 5). Hence the figures do not necessarily total 100%. Where no data are available on specific points for certain chiefs, totals also cannot reach 100%.

THE NYANKOLE

1(*a*). AGE

	Class of Chief					
	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of V*	*% of all*
20–29 years	—	—	4·0	17·6	5·5	7·4
30–39 ,,	12·5	28·0	41·2	55·9	7·5	39·6
40–49 ,,	25·0	40·0	47·6	19·2	22·3	36·4
50–59 ,,	62·5	24·0	4·0	5·8	33·1	14·1
60–69 ,,	—	—	—	1·4	31·5	2·9
Actual Totals	8	50	75	68	54	255

1(*b*). MEAN AGE

Years:	49	46	40	36	45

2(*a*). EDUCATION

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of V*	*% of all*
None	—	—	—	10·3	63·0	16·1
Primary	12·5	66·0	100·0	88·2	37·0	73·3
Secondary	87·5	34·0	—	1·5	—	9·8
Makerere/Overseas	—	—	—	—	—	—
Actual Totals	8	50	75	68	54	255

2(*b*). ENGLISH SPEAKING

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of V*	*% of all*
	87·5	32·0	—	—	—	9·4
Actual Totals	8	50	75	68	54	255

3. RELIGION

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of V*	*% of all*
Protestant	87·5	66·0	77·4	55·5	29·6	63·5
Roman Catholic	12·5	14·0	22·6	36·7	38·8	20·0
Muslim	—	—	—	4·4	—	1·1
Pagan	—	—	—	5·9	31·6	7·5
Actual Totals	8	50	75	68	54	255

4. PREVIOUS EMPLOYERS

	Class of Chief					
	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of V	% of all
Central Govt.	50·0	28·0	13·3	11·7	3·7	14·8
African Local Govt.[1]	100·0	84·0	86·7	27·9	12·9	55·3
Mission	25·0	12·0	13·3	22·0	9·2	10·9
European	—	9·5	42·8	33·3	14·3	8·2
Asian	—	—	—	—	—	—
African	12·5	6·0	—	1·4	—	1·9
Self-employed[2]	—	6·0	1·3	2·8	1·8	2·7
Other	4·5	8·1	40·9	31·3	13·6	8·6
Actual Totals	8	50	75	68	54	255

5. PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of V	% of all
Senior A.L. Govt. officials	37·4	—	—	—	—	1·2
Clerk	87·5	46·0	17·3	7·3	—	15·2
Inspector[3]	75·0	14·0	2·6	8·8	5·5	9·8
Teacher/Clergy	25·0	14·0	14·6	17·6	12·9	15·3
Police/Army	—	14·0	29·2	19·1	9·2	18·4
Trader	—	8·0	1·3	4·4	1·9	3·5
Skilled labourer	—	2·0	18·6	7·3	1·8	7·2
Unskilled labourer	—	—	—	—	—	—
Domestic servant	12·5	4·0	1·3	5·8	1·9	3·5
Royal retainer	—	8·0	—	—	—	1·5
Actual Totals	8	50	75	68	54	255

6. LENGTH IN PRESENT POST

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of V	% of all
0–5 years	25·0	44·0	30·6	54·4	46·3	42·8
6–10 ,,	25·0	26·0	40·0	22·4	16·6	27·4
11–15 ,,	12·5	10·0	14·6	14·5	3·7	12·2
16–20 ,,	37·5	10·0	13·4	5·8	20·0	13·0
21–25 ,,	—	10·0	1·4	2·9	3·7	3·1
Actual Totals	8	50	75	68	54	255

[1] 'African Local Govt.' here refers to employment other than that of a chief.

[2] 'Self-employed' describes traders or business men: it excludes peasant cultivators.

[3] 'Inspector' refers to supervisory work, e.g. as a health, agriculture or education inspector or a foreman.

7. TOTAL LENGTH OF SERVICE AS CHIEF

	Class of Chief				
	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
0 –5 years	12·5	32·0	21·3	45·5	31·8
6–11 ,,	—	4·0	38·6	25·0	23·8
12–15 ,,	—	6·0	17·3	13·2	12·4
16–20 ,,	50·0	26·0	14·3	11·7	17·4
21–25 ,,	12·5	16·0	6·6	2·8	7·9
26 +	25·0	16·0	2·6	1·4	6·5
Actual Totals	8	50	75	68	201

8. DESCENT

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of V	% of all
Hima	62·5	34·0	18·6	11·1	1·9	17·6
Iru	25·0	62·0	78·8	78·6	94·6	76·8
Other	12·5	4·0	2·6	10·8	3·7	5·4
Actual Totals	8	50	75	68	54	255

9. RELATIONSHIP TO CHIEF

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of V	% of all
Son	25·0	44·0	34·6	30·7	38·8	36·4
Grandson	12·5	4·0	13·3	5·7	24·0	11·7
Son and Grandson	50·0	15·0	10·6	2·8	14·8	19·8
Actual Totals	8	50	75	68	54	255

Association tests were not done.

Chapter VII

THE HAYA[1]

The Haya inhabit the Bukoba district of the Lake province of Tanganyika. This region lies along the western shores of Lake Victoria and forms the north-western apex of Tanganyika Territory. The northern neighbours of the Haya are the Ganda, their western neighbours are the Rundi, while the Zinza lie to the south.

The country of the Haya, like that of the other lake-shore peoples already described, can be divided into two zones. The first is the fertile strip with ample rainfall bordering the lake shore; this is densely populated and is now the area that produces most of the coffee of Buhaya. The second zone is the grassland country at a greater altitude above the lake, which has less rainfall and a sparser population. The Haya are cultivators and cattle-keepers. Their staple foods are plantains, sweet potatoes, groundnuts and pulses—in other words, their diet resembles closely that of the Interlacustrine peoples of Uganda.

However, the prosperity of Buhaya at present depends on its successful production of coffee for export. Robusta coffee used to be grown in Buhaya over a hundred years ago, but the profits of the crop were the monopoly of the chiefs. In 1896 the White Fathers introduced the more profitable Arabica variety, and in the early part of the century (1905–6) German authorities removed the chiefs' monopoly and encouraged peasant cultivation. Production rose rapidly to 8,000–10,000 tons in the first quarter of the century and has increased slowly since then. During the war coffee prices were fixed to cushion the peasant against variations and the coffee cess formed from the difference between the world price and the local fixed price has since provided ample funds for

[1] The material used in this essay was collected by P. Reining as a member of the staff of the East African Institute of Social Research (1951–3). The essay was written by J. La Fontaine and A. I. Richards.

the development of Buhaya. If Buganda and Busoga provide success stories based on cotton, Buhaya can be said to have had a similar fortunate development based on coffee.[1] Industrialization has not proceeded as far in Buhaya as it has in south Uganda, but peasant incomes derived from coffee place Buhaya on a level with the two Uganda tribes just described and these three areas are probably the wealthiest among those discussed in this book.

The Haya number 300,000 according to the 1948 census. The ethnic composition of Buhaya is complex and its stratification characteristic of the western group of Interlacustrine Bantu as distinct from the northern. The country seems to have been peopled by lineage groups tracing their origin to clan ancestors located in countries farther north. For instance, in the list of clans given by Cory, 49 claim that their forefathers came from Bunyoro.[2]

All Haya apparently agree that their most important ruling dynasty belongs to the Hinda clan and that this clan was in turn a branch of the Bito 'who inhabited a kingdom north of Bunyoro' and whom we know from other evidence to be a clan of Nilotic origin which also provided the ruling dynasty of Bunyoro. According to one version, Ruhinda, the first ruler of Karagwe, the most famous of the Haya kingdoms, was a son of Igaba, a king of Bunyoro, who travelled south along the coast of Lake Victoria, conquering as he went. His half-brother, Nyakiru,[3] became ruler of Kiziba, one of the future Haya kingdoms, while his many sons were given other territories to rule, such as Ihangiro and Kianja.[4] Rulers of another clan, the Nkango, usurped the throne in the nineteenth century in two other petty kingdoms now known as Kiamtwara and Bugabo, and their descendants rule in these chiefdoms today. A Bito or Ziba ruler is found in a third kingdom, now Kiziba chiefdom, and Missenyi, a fourth, is ruled by Balibeki, also of Bito origin but not reckoned to be 'royal'. Apart from the ruling Hinda, other clans also claim northern or north-western origin and describe their forefathers as coming from Ruanda, Ziba and

[1] Peasants are, however, poorer than in Buganda, making an average of £15 a year, against the Ganda £50 a year; nor are there large properties for individual owners as in Buganda, since the fertile Haya soil is patchy, and cultivated plots are interspersed with barren ground.

[2] H. Cory and M. Hartnoll, *Customary Law of the Haya Tribe, Tanganyika Territory*, 1945, Appendix V, Tables of Clans.

[3] Or Kibi, according to other informants, who believe that Kibi and Ruhinda were sons of the same woman, Njunaki.

[4] H. Cory, 'A History of the Buhaya District', stencilled document, 1956.

in two cases from Buganda. A few even told Cory that they came from Egypt or Abyssinia![1] The Haya are familiar with the legends of Chwezi kings told in Bunyoro and Toro. There are some people who call themselves Chwezi in Buhaya today, and Chwezi cults survive.

It should be noted, too, that Ruhaya, the language of the Haya, belongs to the Nyoro, Toro and Ankole group of dialects and differs in many ways from that of the Ganda and Soga.

In the early days of European contact there appear to have been three recognizable status groups in Buhaya as a result of the constant process of immigration and conquest from the north or north-west. These were, first, the ruling dynasties, mainly Hinda, but also presumably Nkango; secondly, the Nfura or high status clans, including some calling themselves Hima, who are still cattle-herders; and thirdly, the main body of clans, those of the Iru, or peasants. It is difficult to reconstruct this complex status system or to relate clan precedence with the exercise of political authority. It is clear that the members of the ruling dynasties formed the apex of the political system in their respective kingdoms, although the Hinda held the highest rank in the country as a whole. Hinda, as distinct from other clans, could contract endogamous marriages and often did so during their early history, according to Cory. The Nfura clans were composed of Hinda not in the direct line of succession to the throne, and Hima pastoralists, who were given very high social status, but who had little political power as they preferred to remain with their herds away from both the court and the agricultural peasants. In his history of clans, Cory mentions twenty Nfura clans, including Hima as well as collateral members of the royal clans of Hinda, Bito ruling in Kiziba and Nkango in Kiamtwara and Bugabo. He assumes that all Nfura clans were of Hima origin, but in fact the ruling dynasties do not consider themselves to be of Hima descent; and, as we know from the Nyoro and Toro material, they were probably of Nilotic, Lwoo-speaking origin.

Approximately 100 Iru 'agricultural' clans form the lowest status group. Above these are Cory's 'bastard Hima clans', or clans raised by their ruler to Nfura status on account of some service they had done him, such as help in battle or the provision of a favourite wife.[2] Cory lists this group separately and includes in it 25 bastard Hima clans.[3] The order of origin of a lineage group was

[1] H. Cory and M. Hartnoll, op. cit., Appendix V. Table of Clans.

[2] Confirmed by P. Reining. [3] H. Cory and M. Hartnoll, op. cit., pp. 281–7.

evidently important in the status ranking. Cory points out that some clans are linked with others of common origin to form an exogamous group, instancing the Ngo, Nkango and the Shaga.

There are few references to pastoral cults carried out at the courts of Hinda kings, though the body of Ndagara, father of Rumanyika of Karagwe, is said to have been floated on the lake in a cow-hide and there is a story in Kiziba of Wanumi, the grandson of Kibi, its first (Hinda) ruler, seizing the king's Chwezi spirit cattle, even his white cow—a tale that might indicate the existence of sacred cattle at king's courts as have been described in Bunyoro. The association of kingship with cattle-ownership must nevertheless have been strong in the old days. Cory and Hartnoll suggest that the long-horned cattle of the country were introduced by the Hinda some 350 years ago[1] and state that all cattle were formerly disposed of by the Hinda rulers of the different kingdoms. They describe the complicated system by which beasts were loaned out to the king's subjects, the ruler retaining rights over offspring and milch cattle.[2] The rinderpest epidemic of 1889 caused the death of many of these cattle and the departure of some Hima herdsmen for Ruanda and Ankole, but the laws governing cattle-ownership described by Cory and Hartnoll in 1945 show that in some areas at any rate many of the old attitudes to cattle survive.

It is difficult to decide whether the observations made by early European travellers reflect a situation in which dominant Hima immigrants were imposing themselves on a simpler Hima-Iru caste system. It seems more likely that here as in other parts of the region there was a succession of immigrant groups mainly from the north, moving down the fertile coastal strip of Lake Victoria, with Hinda rulers, by legend 'the sons of Ruhinda', dominant over most of the petty kingdoms by the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.

Buhaya must be reckoned as a multi-kingdom tribe. In fact the use of the name Buhaya to cover the whole of the present province of Bukoba is recent: originally 'Buhaya' referred only to the people of the fishing villages on the coast.

Before the Europeans arrived the country was divided among a number of petty kingdoms with constantly changing frontiers. Some of these kingdoms were of considerable size. Karagwe, for instance, the most westerly chiefdom in modern Buhaya, was evidently comparable to Bunyoro in the scope of its empire and the state its monarch kept at the time of Speke's visit. Some of the

[1] H. Cory and M. Hartnoll, op. cit., pp. 259. [2] Ibid, p. 167–8.

other petty kingdoms were, however, very small and the size of such political units varied with the fortunes of the day, the military achievements and personality of their leader, their success in securing the support of the neighbouring Ganda kings or of armed Arab traders and also such economic disasters as famines which caused depopulation. The German administration at the end of the century finally recognized eight kingdoms but made some boundary changes. By the time the British assumed control of Tanganyika in 1916, there were five main kingdoms, referred to as chiefdoms since that date. In the settlement of dynastic disputes and boundary changes, three further chiefdoms were recognized, bringing the number up to the present total of eight. It must be remembered, however, that the boundaries of these units must have changed repeatedly in the previous hundred years.

Each petty kingdom was autonomous though united to the others by links of trade and intermarriage between royal lines. A prince who was given rule over a district by his father often remained linked with the parent kingdom until the latter's death. No centralized government for the whole of Buhaya had been achieved at the time of Speke's visit, and in fact, as will be seen in the following pages, the process of appointing princes to rule over small groups of villages tended to lead to the proliferation of new chiefdoms rather than to their amalgamation. The legends of Buhaya are full of tales of rebellious sons, avenging fathers, and fratricidal strife ending in the splitting of kingdoms.

Within each petty kingdom power was centralized, as happened in the small Busoga states which have been described. Rulers were hereditary and traced their descent to lines of ancestors which, if not as long as those of Ganda kings, were yet of respectable antiquity. As among other Interlacustrine Bantu, the kingly office was associated with the possession of royal drums, said to have been bestowed by Ruhinda, the first Hinda king in Karagwe, on his sons and subsequently transferred from ruler to ruler, or stolen by usurpers. It is difficult to be certain whether the Haya kings had important ritual duties, but Speke describes the celebration of a new moon ceremony at the court of Rumanyika, then ruler of Karagwe, which, from his account, resembled closely that of the Nyoro.

The king's person was sacred. According to Césard, no one but the king's barber or personal servant might touch him; he was not allowed to die a natural death but was strangled when it was seen

that he was fatally ill. A prince who suffered from bodily imperfections or was left-handed could not succeed to the throne.[1] In addition, some, though not all of the kings, and some princes of the royal house are believed to have become Chwezi spirits after death. They return today, the Haya say, to possess the *babandwa* priests. The priests were not of the ruling dynasty and rulers could not themselves become *babandwa* priests, but a living ruler could exercise some control over Chwezi spirits by forbidding them to appear to *babandwa* priests, and this can be described as a ritual prerogative. Members of the royal families also stood in a special relationship to snakes, for the souls of dead rulers passed into snakes. For this reason the Haya may not kill certain species of snake: should such a snake be killed, its slayer and the whole village must be purified by a clan dignitary of the village, the *muharambwa*.[2]

Succession to the office of ruler frequently followed the law of primogeniture; if the eldest son was a minor, regents were chosen. Consequently regents figure more prominently in the legends of Buhaya than in those of Buganda and Bunyoro. However, if the eldest son was considered to be ineligible for any reason, a younger son was selected.

The economic privileges of these petty kings were considerable, and in this respect their position was similar to that of the Uganda petty kings already described. Rulers had large estates of their own, on which their tenants lived and gave service; other members of the royal family had like privileges, although their estates were smaller. The rulers gave estates as fiefs (*nyarubanja*) to faithful followers such as courtiers, administrators and army leaders, and they also gave out land to princes of the blood. With the development of coffee as an export crop at the beginning of this century, these plots became a valuable source of money income. As in Buganda and Busoga, the estate-owners acquired rights over the labour of tenants on their *nyarubanja* and hence gained a considerable revenue when coffee became a marketable crop.

Nyarubanja could be inherited, with the approval of the ruler, the Mukama, but the estates could also be removed as a sign of

[1] E. Césard, 'Les Muhaya', *Anthropos*, vol. XXXII, 1937. Reining states that reigning *bakama* could not meet each other, another sign of ritual chieftainship.

[2] H. Cory, unpublished MS, 'The History of the Buyaha District', 1945.

his displeasure, and this power of giving and removing estates was one of the chief sources of the strength of each king.[1]

Delegated political power was in the hands of two main categories of authorities—the princes (*balangira*) drawn from the royal Hinda dynasty, and the king's own personal followers or clients (*batekwa*), that is, his ministers, army leaders, courtiers or messengers. These were of non-royal clans.

There was evidently a great distinction between the capital of a king and the much smaller villages of commoners. At the capital were the large royal residences, the houses of the king's many wives, of numerous office-bearers and gate-keepers, of slaves and herders, as well as the huts of the bands of young men (*miteiko*). It is recorded that there were residential areas designed for more than 30 different categories of inhabitants of the capital.

The institution of ministers does not seem to have been so well established as among the Interlacustrine Bantu of Uganda, but a prime minister (*omukuru we kibuga* or *katikiro*) is mentioned and he was evidently not a Hinda. The army organization seems to have been much less elaborate, and hence possibly the failure of any one king to build up a military force sufficient to secure his centralized power. Little, however, is known on this aspect of the political life of Buhaya. There may well have been feudal obligations to provide soldiers for the ruler of a petty kingdom, although these have not been described. Cory speaks of regiments (*mitwe*) organized at the district level under district governors.[2]

Political authorities were divided as follows:

(a) *Courtiers and administrative officials at the capital*: These were composed of two classes—princes (*balangira*) chosen from the ruling aristocracy to serve at court, and the king's own followers (*batekwa*), who were chosen from non-royal clans. The prime minister himself was always apparently chosen from a commoner clan.

(b) *District governors* (*balagilwa*): These officials were put in charge of different districts within each kingdom. They were the representatives of the ruler and looked after the king's fields and were reckoned therefore as *batekwa* and drawn from non-royal clans.

[1] Legal power to create and to dispose of *nyarubanja* was, in effect, abrogated by the *nyarubanja* rules, as revised by Fairclough in 1938. Further reforms of the *nyarubanja* system took place in 1955–6.

[2] H. Cory and M. Hartnoll, op. cit., p. 270.

(c) *Princes*, who were given villages or groups of villages to rule over, and in this capacity held the title of *bakungu*. The object of these appointments was apparently to provide for the royal princes but to ensure their residence at some distance from the capital for fear they should become too powerful an influence in politics.[1] Princes appointed their own *batekwa*, who were mainly drawn from non-royal clans, and these *batekwa* appointed their own deputies (*babezi*) to help them. Villages were composed of 100–200 peasant households, and the peasants living under a prince's rule owed him tribute.[2] He also had an official estate of his own and could take a portion of the Mukama's tribute. According to Cory, the *mukungu* was originally a royal son sent to settle disputes between members of the original clan occupying the village and newcomers, and if this is so, the practice would follow very closely that of the Alur kinglets who also sent out their sons, on request, to rule over heterogeneous groups of Alur and incorporated immigrants.[3]

Rule over these villages or groups of villages tended to be hereditary, but the Mukama could appoint his own nominee to any vacant office of this sort, if he chose. Powerful princes apparently tended to build up their own courts, and their groups of villages became replicas in miniature of the organization of the kingdom itself. It must have been in this way that princedoms tended to separate off and to become, in time, little kingdoms on their own, an event which was likely to happen when the Mukama was a weak character.

The distinction between the king's followers, or clients, and the royal princes was thus very clear in this area, and separate terms were used for the two (*batekwa* or *balangira*). Cory and Hartnoll record the use of a term *baramata*, which covered the king's courtiers, deputies (*katikiro*), governors (*bami*), clan-heads or recipients of cattle or land from the ruler. The king could create new *baramata* and make them hereditary by a special act, *kwehonga*.[4] The balance of authority was indeed interesting in this tribe. At the court level both types of authority functioned. There were courtiers who were princes and others who were clients of

[1] As in Buganda, there are cases of kings killing the princes of the blood for fear they might rebel. Kakoko, a regent for Rumanyika, is said to have put seventeen near relatives to death for this reason; cf. Cory, op. cit., 1956.

[2] Césard gives an average of 180 huts in 46 villages, op. cit., p. 23.

[3] A. W. Southall, *Alur Society*, Chapter XVI, 1956.

[4] H. Cory and M. Hartnoll, op. cit., p. 8.

the king. At the district level authority was in the hands of appointed chiefs who were commoners loyal to the king, while villages were ruled by princes with their own personal followers. Reining points out that the numerous genealogical connections of the princes gave them a certain identity of interests and made for a low-level network of control of the villages by members of the royal dynasty. Though the system was not as centralized as that of the Ganda, it must be remembered that the Mukama controlled the allocation of all estates and that he had to approve the appointment of all authorities, even the *batekwa* of each prince.

Movement from post to post within the political hierarchy depended, as among the other Interlacustrine Bantu, on the attachments a youth formed to a prince, governor or king, but this kind of attachment was evidently more institutionalized than among the other tribes described in this book, since the boys belonged to groups, *miteiko*, each of which received a special name given them at the capital. This was not a regular age-set system, but membership of such a group was important for a boy's future, especially for one who belonged to a non-royal clan.

There seems also to have been a system of authorities within the clan, since each had its head (*muharamba*), as did the sub-clan (*ihiga*). Cory believes that these officials are still respected and given some tribute. He thinks that clans were originally associated with the ownership of land tracts and that their ancestors were the first settlers in Buhaya. The clan had its court and judged cases; no killing in settlement of blood guilt was allowed without asking the permission of this court. It collected clan tribute, settled disputes, and its authorities carried out ancestral sacrifices. At least some clans had their Chwezi deities and shrines to Wamala, one of the Chwezi kings. Clan heads also had ritual functions, which they performed at the court of each petty king. Cory speaks of clan villages (*banyama*), presumably villages that were special clan centres or points of origin.

It is difficult to know how much of this clan structure still survives; in a report written in 1938 the district commissioner mentions that clan elders were still used as witnesses in inheritance cases and that they facilitated the carrying-out of orders given by the chief. Reining states that clans have recently come to life as a basis for mutual benefit societies under modern conditions.

As in Buganda, the kings acquired authority over originally semi-independent clan leaders by becoming officially heads of all

the clans. In Buhaya inheritance cases went, and still go, on appeal from the clan courts to the chief's private court. The whole system of courts in Buhaya was unusually complex, according to Cory's account. Besides these clan courts, there were village elders' courts (*ntegeka ya bagarusi*) and a council of village elders (*kyama ya bagarusi*), which was an *ad hoc* meeting called by anyone who wished to do so. There were also a village cattle-owners' court (*mukondo*) and a fishermen's court (*ntegeka ya bujubi*). Princes (*bakungu*) had their courts (*mibugo*), governors had courts, the king had a court presided over by one of his governors in residence at the capital for the purpose (*murukali*). Furthermore, the king had his own court (*nyakaju*), which dealt with murder, witchcraft and treason. There was also a travelling court (*ntumwe*). Appeal lay from lower to higher courts.

It is not clear whether all these courts existed in every kingdom, how far their proceedings were formalized and whether they survive. Hailey, publishing in 1950, states that Haya chiefs are said to pay 'less regard to consultation with responsible and representative bodies of elders than is usual elsewhere',[1] but even the listing of so many named assemblies surely indicates an unusually complex balancing of the rights and privileges of clan and village elders, king's administrators and king's relatives, together with those of the monarch himself.

Changes introduced by European Administrations

German administration over Buhaya began in 1890 when Emin Pasha extended his rule over this area. The policy followed by the Germans with regard to the kingdoms of Buhaya, Buha and Buzinza differed from that which they applied in the rest of Tanganyika.[2] By and large they ruled through the traditional authorities and only interfered when succession disputes or refusal to submit to German orders endangered their control. Several rulers were deposed but the men appointed in their places were their heirs according to the traditional system. Some parts of Kiamtwara and Kiziba were given to other kingdoms as a punishment for their kings' failure to execute German orders and one kingdom (Kanyan-

[1] Hailey, M. (Lord) *Native Administration in Africa*, 1950, vol. I, p. 227.

[2] H. Cory, unpublished MS, 'The History of the Haya': *A Handbook of Tanganyika Territory*, ed. G. E. Sayers, 1930, pp. 75–77; *Report on Tanganyika Territory from the conclusion of the Armistice to the end of 1920*, H.M. Stationery Office, 1921.

BUHAYA

Traditional System			*Modern System*		
Number	*Unit*	*Ruler*	*Number*	*Unit*	*Ruler*
	No centralized kingdom	No central authority		Federation of chiefdoms in Bukoba Native Authority	Non-traditional. Appointed, 1951.
Fluctuating, say 8	Petty kingdom (*bukama*)	Kinglet (*mukama*). Hereditary. Assisted by (*a*) hereditary princes (*b*) appointed courtiers.	8	Chiefdom (*bukama*)	Chief (*mukama*). Chosen by electoral college since 1950. Salaried.
Fluctuating	District (*lushozi*) — District (*lushozi*)	Governor (*mulagilwa*). Appointed by kinglet.	52	Sub-chiefdom (*gombolola*)	Sub-chief (*mwami*). Appointed by *mukama* and district commissioner. Salaried.
Fluctuating	Village group (*nkungu*) — Village group (*nkungu*)	Lord of villages (*mukungu*). Prince, hereditary or appointed by kinglet.	468	Parish (*nkungu*)	Parish chief (*mukungu*). Appointed by *mukama*. Salaried.
Fluctuating	Village (*kyalo*) — Village — Village	Prince's deputy (*mutekwa*). Appointed by prince. Assisted by deputy (*mubezi*), appointed by *mutekwa*.	Many	Village (*kyalo*)	Village headman (*mubezi*). Appointed and paid by *mukungu*.

gereko) was divided between Kianja and Kiamtwara. The Germans also acquired, when the boundary between German East Africa and Uganda was drawn up, the area of Missenyi which had been originally part of Ankole and later came under Ganda rule. They made Missenyi into a chiefdom on the lines of the existing Haya kingdoms. Under German rule the position of those kings who co-operated with the European overlords was considerably strengthened: they received a percentage of the tax and a right to free labour as tribute. It appears that the Germans made no enquiry into the administrative methods used by the traditional rulers but demanded efficient collection of tax and the maintenance of peace.

The British assumed military control of Bukoba in 1916, and in 1919 civil administration began. It recognized certain of the existing rulers, and here as elsewhere in Africa the British started to set up an orderly hierarchy of chiefs, sub-chiefs and village heads, each with its council and court. These corresponded roughly to the county, sub-county and parish units of Buganda. Eight of the former petty kingdoms were recognized, each with its hereditary Mukama, a word translated as 'chief'. Later, each such chief was given his own court of the first class and his own council.[1] Sub-chiefdoms, which also had some correspondence with traditional units, were created, and there are now 52 sub-chiefs, known as *abami*, who have second-class courts and councils.[2]

The smallest chiefdom contains two sub-chiefdoms and the largest twelve. Below the sub-chiefdoms come the heads of village groups (*bakungu*) now called parish chiefs. The old term *nkungu* was given to the new administrative unit known as the parish, and 442 parish chiefs were recognized under the title of *bakungu*. The *nkungu* units have constantly been made bigger so that by the amalgamation of two units larger salaries would become available for the remaining *bakungu*. *Bakungu* still appoint their own deputies (*babezi*) as they did in the past, and these are now described as headmen. There are thought to be some 1,000 to 1,500 of these village headmen in Buhaya and they probably function in much the same way that they did in pre-European days.

The Administration seems to have had three main objectives

[1] In the Tanganyika terminology, statutory courts are divided into two types, higher and lower.

[2] In 1953 and 1954 a number of sub-chiefdoms were amalgamated to reduce the total number and a similar process was carried out in the parishes.

when trying to introduce more modern methods of local government into Buhaya. First, it attempted to secure rulers fit to act in an executive capacity in various fields of administration, and this was not an easy task in a region where authority had been based so largely on hereditary rights. Second, it was anxious to set up machinery for federating the different chiefdoms of which modern Buhaya is composed; and its third aim was evidently to democratize the process by which Haya officials were chosen and to provide a means by which the views of the people could be expressed.

As regards the selection of chiefs, it is doubtful whether these men were ever considered as potential civil servants, but the Administration may well have regarded sub-chiefs and parish chiefs in this light. Within each chiefdom the hereditary dynasties have been maintained although the Government has selected rulers it thought suitable within the respective royal lines and has not necessarily approved the appointment of the son of the previous chief. Depositions have also been quite frequent. By 1950 a system of electing chiefs which can be described as an electoral college had been instituted. Hence it is not surprising that succession to office in what were formerly petty kingships no longer conforms at all closely to the traditional pattern. All eight of the chiefs certainly belong to royal clans, four to the Hinda, two to the Nkango, one to the Ziba, while one is a Mulebeki, the latter of a clan that has established itself in power in Missenyi, although it is not actually royal. Of these traditional Hinda chiefs one was chosen by an electoral college in 1940 on the deposition of the previous Mukama, who was descended from his grandfather's brother. This succession did not follow the traditional rule of primogeniture, but the deposed chief's son was a small boy at the time. The chosen man was appointed because he had already received training as a parish and a sub-chief.

The second chief inherited from his father, the previous Mukama, as a minor. His father's brother acted as regent for him, and though he was recognized in 1919 he was not allowed to exercise his full functions till the mid-twenties. The third was the son of a chief but succeeded after two half-brothers had been appointed and subsequently deposed by the Administration. The last chief was chosen to take the place of the previous Mukama who had also been deposed. In 1952 his name was put before the princes and elders of the capital with those of two other possible candidates, and he was elected.

Of the non-Hinda chiefs, one succeeded after having been a clerk at central headquarters and having acted as sub-chief for a short time. The second inherited from his father after holding two posts as parish chief; he was selected by the Government to replace his half-brother who had been deposed. It would thus be true to say that only three out of eight chiefs inherited according to Haya rule, and that of the immediate predecessors of the present *bakama* four out of eight had been deposed.

The position of the sub-chiefs is rather different, since at this level chiefs had tended to be nominees of the Mukama. They are still nominally chosen by the chief but with the advice of the district commissioner. The information about sub-county chiefs is not full, but it is interesting to note that three sub-county chiefs in Kianja chiefdom are the sons of former rulers. One is half-brother to the reigning chief of Kianja, another is father's half-brother to the chief of Kiamtwara, the third is the son of a former Mukama of Karagwe. In the traditional system this level of post was usually held by commoners loyal to the Mukama and never by a royal prince, lest he become too powerful and intrigue against the king. But the position is evidently somewhat changed now. The Administration has shown a tendency to favour Bakama who have had experience as sub-county chiefs (four out of eight were sub-county chiefs before they succeeded to the chiefdom) and hence it would now be true to say that princes have a good chance of being appointed to a sub-chieftainship and of succeeding to the chieftainship on the death or deposition of a chief. In fact the career histories of two Bakama follow this pattern.

The *bakungu*, now parish chiefs, were formerly princes, and the figures show that they are still mainly drawn from the royal clan. In fact four out of seven parish chiefs in Muhutwe sub-county in Kianja belong to the Hinda clan. It is true that these parish chiefs are still appointed by the Mukama, but he cannot depose them at will or dispose of their plots as he could in the past. They are therefore more secure in their tenure of office in relation to their superior chief. Many parish chiefs have, however, been moved or deposed by the British Administration.

The lowest level of officials, those appointed and paid by the parish chiefs, takes the place of the old *babezi* who acted as deputies to the *bakungu* princes. Only four of those in the sample are from royal clans out of a total of 35. Five of them were sons of chiefs of one kind or other and they were probably appointed by their

fathers. The rest are, presumably, clients and personal followers of the local *mukungu* chief. Since the *nkungu* units are now very much larger than they were, and hence there is a good deal more work involved for the parish chief, there tend to be more and more deputies (*babezi*) appointed.

The traditional system of councils described by Cory was very complex although probably one that worked in an informal manner, and it is difficult to be certain how far any of the chain of councils mentioned in *Customary Law of the Haya* still functions. It seems at any rate to be clear that the councils appointed by the Government shortly before the period of the survey were of a quite different type. Sub-county councils were set up in 1949, at first with half official and half unofficial membership. By 1952, though the sub-chief remained the chairman, all the rest of the members were elected. Two representatives are now elected from each village (*bategeki*) and they tend to be chosen from men who have had some experience in the European world, as policemen or inspectors, for instance. These men meet at the sub-chiefdom headquarters first on their own and later with the sub-chief. This council chooses representatives to attend a chiefdom council which meets monthly, and here again the unofficial elected representatives meet alone and then later with the chief and sub-chiefs. The chiefdom council, which was at first entirely official in composition, now consists of the chief, the sub-chiefs, two elected parish chiefs and two *bategeki* chosen from each sub-chiefdom, together with ten people nominated by the district commissioner and the chief together.

At the apex of this pyramid is the Buhaya Chiefs' Council, the federation of the eight chiefs which was set up in 1951 and gazetted as the Native Authority of Bukoba. (This body has an administrative centre at Bukoba.) Its functions are in practice largely deliberative and financial.[1] The process of amalgamation of chiefdoms seems to be much less radical here than that which took place in Busoga, where, as we have seen, the people have been persuaded to accept not only a central council but a new office of secretary-general. Bukoba has, of course, been administered for a much shorter time.

The Buhaya Chiefs' Council is composed of 118 members under the chairmanship of the district commissioner who prepares the agenda. The official composition of the council consists of eight

[1] Hailey, M. (Lord), op. cit., vol. I, p. 227.

chiefs, 29 sub-chiefs, 29 parish chiefs chosen by their chiefdom councils and 37 *bategeki* chosen by the sub-chiefdom council, and fifteen other members chosen by the district commissioner and all the chiefs jointly. The power of the 'royals' on the sub-chiefdom council is thus small and in the Buhaya Chiefs' Council it is at any rate greatly diminished.

The career histories analysed show that in 1952[1] 30·2% of all chiefs belonged to the royal dynasties of the areas in which they ruled, but this figure includes the headmen, who were traditionally non-royal and who today are only 8·6% royal. The county chiefs are 100% royal and the parish chiefs 57% royal. Sub-county level chiefs were traditionally non-royal—information is available for only three such chiefs.

Of county chiefs 87·5% are sons of chiefs of some kind, but the succession is not necessarily direct from father to son. Five of these chiefs are sons of the previous incumbents, but some have succeeded to office after the rule of various half-brothers who had been deposed by the Government; one is the son of a Hinda parish chief and one of a sub-county chief. There is unfortunately no information here on intermarriages between chiefly families, as for some of the other tribes described. There is evidence, however, of an interlinking network of kinship between Hinda families as a whole.

The career of chief seems to be a less permanent one than in other areas. 47·2% of all chiefs had ruled under ten years, 20·7% between twenty and 30 years. The headman has the shortest period of service, since 64% of these authorities had been in office under ten years. This figure may reflect the recent increase in the number of headmen, referred to in the text, or it may show that it is difficult to get men to do work when it is paid by the parish chief and therefore poorly paid.

Promotion within the service seems to show some reflection of the traditional pattern. One out of the eight county chiefs went up the regular ladder from parish to sub-county to county. Three went from sub-county to county, but two were appointed as county chiefs without previous experience, one being appointed when a minor. This type of appointment could only of course exist under a hereditary system. The remaining two county chiefs went straight from the parish chief rank to the county rank. This would

[1] The vertical sample section is here not complete; it includes all eight county chiefs, three out of eleven sub-county chiefs in one county, seven parish chiefs in a selected sub-county and 35 village headmen.

be unheard of in Buganda, but this type of promotion seems to reflect the traditional custom by which villages were given to princes by their fathers, and such princes might ultimately succeed to the throne. In each of the two cases mentioned, the county chief had made his son a village chief in order to give him training for subsequent promotion.

All the county chiefs were large or fairly large landowners holding plots in different parts of the county. One had several hundred such plots. All the village deputies were small landowners, with two or three plots each, usually inherited.

Salaries of county chiefs were high in relation to economic opportunities in Buhaya in the period under observation. A county chief's salary ranged from £608 to £1,134 a year, with allowances. There was then a big drop in scale, for the sub-county chief got £57 a year and the parish chief £18 a year. When it is remembered that an experienced domestic servant got £36–£54 a year in a European house in 1952, at the time this study was made, and that the average income of a peasant from coffee was £15 a year, it will be seen that the financial inducements to work as a parish chief in Buhaya were small.

There are few chiefs in Buhaya with more than primary education. Only 9·4% of all chiefs have secondary education and only 50% of the highest chiefs. 57·1% of the parish chiefs have had no schooling, likewise 33·3% of the sub-county chiefs. Few of the higher chiefs had had previous experience in European employment, and this is probably to be expected where posts are mainly filled by men from royal dynasties. Two of the county chiefs had been clerks, but of the six parish chiefs who had had paid employment, two had been labourers, two traders and two courtiers.

Reining's case histories show that in the three higher grades of chief there are no longer any men who have been trained in the traditional manner at the court of a Mukama or prince. Eleven village chiefs (28·6%) were trained in this way. In Haya eyes they are better fitted for the office of chief than their fellows. However, for the type of work that is demanded of a higher chief, clerical skill and administrative experience are necessary, so that chiefs are chosen by the Administration for these qualities and the emphasis is on European-type education.

We have said that in the traditional system the king had ritual powers and functions and that the people's welfare was thought to depend on the exercise of these powers. It is interesting to see

that this aspect of the Mukama's office no longer seems important. None of the Bakama are pagan. Seven Bakama are Roman Catholics and one is a Protestant. Of the other chiefs, only eleven are pagan: four of these are parish chiefs and seven are village chiefs. The percentage of pagan chiefs is here perhaps slightly higher than in Uganda, but the material for Buhaya is not full enough to make adequate comparison possible.

If we look at the previous employers of chiefs in this sample, it becomes clear that for the higher chief the most important means of acquiring a chiefdom is through work in the Central Administration or the African Local Government, or in both. In the sample, six of the eight Bakama, three sub-chiefs and all the parish chiefs had worked in one or the other of these administrations before becoming chiefs. Of the village chiefs, six out of 35 had done so, but seven of them had previously been traders, twelve were skilled labourers, four mission teachers and one had been in the police. The village chiefs are chosen by the parish chiefs to act as their assistants and it becomes clear that knowledge of the European world or the wider experience gained by trading is considered desirable. It is likely that these were clients or tenants of the parish chiefs who appointed them. In general the village chiefs appear to be of a different type from chiefs of the three higher categories and this apparent separation is confirmed by the fact that there does not seem to be much promotion from village chief to the higher grades. (Only two of the seven parish chiefs had been promoted from being village chiefs.) In part this is because village chiefs are not officers of the Government in the same way that other chiefs are, and therefore the transition from village to parish chief is a change from being the personal adherent of a parish chief to being a salaried official in a hierarchy of chiefs.

NOTE ON TABLES

Terminology.

Chiefs in the Tables below are shown in the following classes:

Class	*Title*	*Title in Tanganyikan terminology*
I	County chief	Chief (Mukama)
II	Sub-county chief	Sub-chief (*mwami*)
III	Parish chief	Parish chief (*mukungu*)
IV	Village headman	Village headman (*mubezi*)

The Sample.

The sample includes all the county chiefs (eight), and three out of eleven sub-county chiefs in one county. (Total number of sub-county chiefs = 52.)

Seven out of fourteen parish chiefs and all the village headmen (elders and deputies) in one sub-county (Kyanja) were also chosen (35).

The Tables.

Percentages were worked out on the basis of Actual Totals, i.e. the number of chiefs in each class in the sample. The refusal rate was, however, low and there was little difference between Actual Totals and Totals.

In the case of Tables 4, 5 and 9 the categories are not mutually exclusive, since a man might have worked for the Central Government as well as for a mission for instance (Table 4); or as a clerk as well as a trader (Table 5). He might also be a son of a chief as well as a brother of another chief (Table 9). Hence the figures do not necessarily total 100%. Where no data are available on specific points for certain chiefs, totals also cannot reach 100%.

THE HAYA

Class of Chief

1. AGE

	% *of I*	% *of II*	% *of III*	% *of IV*	% *of all*
31–40 years	0	0	0	25·8	17·1
41–50 ,,	87·5	0	28·6	31·4	37·7
51–60 ,,	12·5	33·3	14·3	22·8	20·7
61–70 ,,	0	66·7	57·1	20·0	24·5
Actual Totals	8	3	7	35	53

2. EDUCATION

	% *of I*	% *of II*	% *of III*	% *of IV*	% *of all*
None	0	33·3	57·2	57·1	47·1
Primary	50·0	66·7	42·8	40·0	43·5
Secondary	50·0	0	0	2·9	9·4
Post-Secondary	0	0	0	0	0
Actual Totals	8	3	7	35	53

3. RELIGION

	% *of I*	% *of II*	% *of III*	% *of IV*	% *of all*
Protestant	12·5	33·3	0	11·4	11·3
Roman Catholic	87·5	33·3	28·5	51·4	52·8
Muslim	0	33·3	14·3	14·2	13·2
Pagan	0	0	57·2	20·0	20·7
Actual Totals	8	3	7	35	53

Class of Chief

4. PREVIOUS EMPLOYERS

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
Central Govt.	0	33·3	14·3	5·6	9·4
African Local Govt.[1]	75·0	66·6	100·0	8·3	35·8
Mission	0	33·3	0	0	1·9
Self-employed[2]	0	0	14·3	0	1·9
Traditional ruler	0	0	28·6	0	3·8
Actual Totals	8	3	7	35	53

5. PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
Clerk	87·5	33·3	0	11·4	13·2
Inspector[3]	0	0	0	2·8	1·9
Police/Army	0	0	0	2·8	1·9
Teacher/Clergy	0	33·3	0	11·1	9·5
Skilled labourer	0	0	14·3	33·3	24·5
Unskilled labourer	0	0	14·3	2·8	3·8
Trader	0	0	28·6	19·4	17·0
Royal retainer	0	0	28·6	0	3·8
Actual Totals	8	3	7	35	53

6. TENURE IN PRESENT POST

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
0–5 years	0	0	14·3	65·7	45·2
6–10 ,,	28·6	0	14·3	17·1	16·9
11–15 ,,	28·6	33·3	71·4	5·7	18·8
16–20 ,,	14·2	0	0	0	1·8
21–25 ,,	0	33·3	0	0	1·8
26–30 ,,	0	0	0	2·8	1·8
31–40 ,,	28·6	33·3	0	5·7	9·4
Actual Totals	8	3	7	35	53

[1] 'African Local Govt.' here refers to employment other than that of chief.

[2] 'Self-employed' describes traders or business men; peasant cultivators are excluded.

[3] 'Inspector' refers to a supervisory post; an agriculture, health or education inspector or a foreman.

7. TOTAL LENGTH OF SERVICE AS CHIEF *Class of Chief*

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
1–10 years	12·5	0	14·3	65·7	47·1
11–20 "	0	0	28·6	8·6	9·4
21–30 "	50·0	0	0	20·0	20·7
31–40 "	37·5	100·0	42·8	0	16·9
41–50 "	0	0	0	5·7	4·7
Actual Totals	8	3	7	35	53

8. DESCENT[1]

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
Royal clans	100·0	33·3	57·0	8·6	30·2
Commoner	0	66·6	43·0	91·4	69·8
Actual Totals	8	3	7	35	53

9. RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER CHIEFS

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
Son of chief	87·5	86·6	57·1	8·3	30·2
Father of chief	0	33·3	14·3	0	3·8
Brother of chief	57·1	33·3	14·3	0	11·3
Actual Totals	8	3	7	35	53

Association tests.

G. M. Teoh did tests of association on age and education, age and royal descent. She also did tests of possible association between hereditary descent and direct appointment to I and II level chieftainship and alternatively to III level chieftainship. There is a marked association between hereditary descent and direct appointment at this lower (parish chief) level.

[1] Several royal dynasties excluded.

Chapter VIII

THE ZINZA[1]

The territory of the Zinza lies around the south-west shores of Lake Victoria. To the north are the Haya, to the east the Sukuma, while to the south-west and south are the Ha, Sumbwa and Nyamwezi. The western neighbours of the Zinza are the Shubi and Hangaza and, farther west, the Ruanda and Rundi of the Belgian Congo. The Zinza can be classified with the Ha and Haya as forming the southernmost extension of the Interlacustrine group which has already been discussed. Their language belongs to the Nyoro section of the Interlacustrine group and their traditional social organization was similar to that of the Haya.

From the point of view of economic development the area occupied by the Zinza presents a strong contrast to the prosperous district of Bukoba to the north where the Haya have developed the cultivation of coffee as a cash crop: this is specially true of the Biharamulo district, which is described in this essay. The annual rainfall is lower and less reliable than in the other lake-shore areas discussed in this book. Tobacco and cotton are grown in the west and east of Zinza country, respectively, but in general Zinza do not derive much cash income from these sources. Their herds of cattle, which were formerly numerous, were decimated by the rinderpest and bovine pleuro-pneumonia epidemics of 1890 and later. Subsequently tsetse fly encroached on the areas previously inhabited by the mainly pastoral section of the Zinza. Today the people are still mainly engaged in producing subsistence crops, whether grain or plantains. The general picture is one of difficult economic conditions and population decrease; 2,000 migratory labourers are thought to leave the Biharamulo district annually

[1] Written by J. La Fontaine from field material collected by J. W. Tyler during 1950–2, when he was a member of the staff of the East African Institute of Social Research.

to find work in Uganda.[1] The area is thus backward as compared with Buganda, Busoga or Buhaya. Geita district—also partly inhabited by Zinza—has, however, been more fortunate from an economic point of view.

It is not possible to speak of Buzinza, the country of the Zinza, in the sense that one can speak of Buganda or Bunyoro. To begin with, there is a large admixture of other tribal groups in all the Zinza chiefdoms.[2] For instance in Rusubi, which was traditionally a Zinza kingdom, the number of people who describe themselves as Zinza is only 54%, while the rest of the population consists of a mixture of Ha, Nyambo, Rundi and others. There is, however, a greater cultural homogeneity than a mere enumeration of the different elements in the population would suggest, for members of all the surrounding tribes, except the Nyamwezi and Sukuma, have always been, comparatively speaking, easily absorbed into Zinza society. Immigrants who have been settled in these areas over one or two generations say that they have 'become Zinza', and in Rusubi the characteristic features of Zinza culture do not seem to have been impaired by the absorption of these new elements over the past years. The incursion of Sukuma from the east has, however, had a more disturbing effect; Sukuma do not become integrated into Zinza society, and the figures of 46% and 76% Zinza in the eastern kingdoms of Karumo and Buchosa respectively represent a radical undermining of the cultural homogeneity. The immigration of Sukuma from the overcrowded areas to the east into what was once the eastern group of Zinza kingdoms has been, and still is, continuous. Zinza themselves think of their country as being the area that was ruled over by Muhangacharo, the last king (*mugabe*) who died about 1850.[3] This territory corresponds only approximately to the modern kingdoms of Rusubi in the Biharamulo district and of Buchosa and Karumo in Geita.

Many historical factors have contributed to the mixture of peoples now existing in the area. In the nineteenth century the main slave route from the coast to the kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro passed through Zinza territory, which thus became the scene of raiding and of the dispersal of peoples. The Zinza them-

[1] Provincial Report, 1949.

[2] The presence of members of these other tribal groups can be largely accounted for by the fluctuations in the boundaries of Zinza kingdoms under past rulers.

[3] *Mugabe* means here a king or paramount chief. The term is also used for the king of Ankole.

selves were subjected to attacks from the Nyamwezi and the Tuta (an offshoot from the Ngoni to the south) who attempted to snatch some of the wealth that passed through the country. Military expeditions were also dispatched by the Ganda against the Mukama of Rusubi, who occupied a commanding position at this gateway to the north.[1] The imposition of German rule at the end of the last century was only achieved after fighting and a further dispersal of peoples, and even after the new Administration had been established, the wars of rival Hinda factions continued in the Zinza area, adding to the political confusion. The epidemics of cattle disease mentioned above also led to population movements, for it appears that some of the pastoral inhabitants of the country left Rusubi with their herds for more favourable environments. More recent events causing disintegration have been the spread of the tsetse fly and the consequent outbreak of sleeping sickness which led to further depopulation. This culminated, in 1930–5, in the concentration of a previously dispersed population into settlements in fly-free areas under the orders of the Administration.

The political history of the Zinza has also been one of changing boundaries. Before the advent of Europeans, Zinza kingdoms were in an almost continuous state of fission and accretion, owing to the dynastic wars that generally followed the death of a ruler, to the custom of dividing up kingdoms between the dead ruler's brothers and sons, and to the efforts of princes of the blood to set up their own independent kingdoms. Speke, in his account of his journey through the region in 1861, describes the warring groups encountered. When the Germans arrived at the end of the century, the largest Zinza kingdom was Rusubi. This area the new Administration continued to rule through its traditional head, as was done in the case of the similar Haya kingdoms to the north. The rest of the Zinza polities, by then disintegrated into a large number of tiny kingdoms, the Germans administered through alien *wakili* or *akida*, according to the policy of direct rule which they followed in most other parts of Africa under their control. There were several military expeditions against rulers who defied the new government; villages were burnt and rulers shot before the area was entirely pacified. A permanent German station was finally established in western Zinza country in 1902.

During the first world war the Zinza were pressed into service

[1] At one time it is said that the Ganda occupied part of the Zinza littoral.

as porters and it appears that they suffered more than many other tribes from German demands of this sort. The Germans were driven out in 1916 and the western area came under the control of the Belgians. Effective administration, however, was not possible until 1922, when the whole area came under British rule as part of the Mandated Territory of Tanganyika. The results of this long history of changing boundaries are seen in the present distribution of Zinza chiefdoms. Not only is the population of each Zinza chiefdom mixed, as we have seen, but the chiefdoms themselves are now divided between two administrative districts. The traditional kingdom of Rusubi forms the greater part of the present district of Biharamulo, where it is associated with another Interlacustrine chiefdom, Mwani, and with Sumbwa, inhabited by people belonging to the Nyamwezi-Sukuma group. In Geita, the second administrative district, there are now three Zinza chiefdoms, Buchosa, Karumo and Busambiro; but there are also four non-Zinza chiefdoms, Bukole, Buyombe, Mwingiro and Msalala. The three Zinza chiefdoms were originally grouped together as a Zinza federation within what was then the administrative district of Mwanza, but in 1950, when the new Geita district was created from the western part of Mwanza district, these three Zinza chiefdoms were joined to the four non-Zinza chiefdoms to the south to form a new administrative unit known as the Mwelo Federation, and this was attached to the much larger Sukumaland Federation.

For all these reasons it is difficult to give a coherent account of the social structure of the Zinza. Like their neighbours, the Ha and the Haya, they must be classed as a multi-kingdom organization, but their heterogeneous population and less elaborate authority system marks them off structurally from these two other tribes.

The royal dynasties of the Zinza are of Hinda, and therefore presumably of Bito, origin. Ruhinda, the Bito conqueror, travelled down the western shores of Lake Victoria, leaving his sons as rulers of the petty kingdoms that make up modern Buhaya. He then proceeded south, according to Zinza legend, and left other descendants to rule parts of what is now Buzinza. The links between Buhaya and Buzinza must have been close, and Stuhlman states that Zinza rulers formerly went to Karagwe for approval of their appointment to the throne. According to Zinza legend the body of Ruhinda was divided at his death: the head was buried in Karagwe, the body in Buzinza and the legs in Ihangiro, another Haya kingdom.

Ruhinda was apparently not a Hima,[1] according to the legend of either country, Buhaya or Buzinza. The Zinza speak of him as a great hunter, who refused to drink milk, which disgusted him as it seemed to him to be 'like mucus', until he was thirsty after a long trek and accepted a gourd of milk from a Huma lord and then began to like it. There are, however, traces of cattle ritual in the accounts of the installation of Zinza kings, because herds were driven to the capital on this occasion and a beautiful Iru girl was killed by being stuffed with milk through a funnel till her stomach burst, when she was buried with great honour.[2] But it is difficult to disentangle the cattle ritual, presumably of Hima origin, from the other ceremonies, or in fact to determine what the ritual powers of Zinza rulers are, or were.

The Traditional System

The original social organization of the Zinza showed the caste-like stratification that is typical of the other western Interlacustrine Bantu. There were three main groups: Hinda or members of the royal dynasty, Huma pastoralists and Iru cultivators. Differences in status between these groups were not as marked as in Buhaya. Hinda and Huma were closely identified; the term Hinda was only used to refer to, and was only claimed by, the ruling dynasty in a particular area. Outside the kingdom for which Hinda provided the rulers, these men were classed as Huma. The dynasties of different kingdoms were interconnected, sometimes because each formed a lineage of the same clan, but also because there were ties of marriage between them. Huma and Iru were not clearly differentiated as they were in some other areas. Iru owned cattle even though they were primarily cultivators, and the occupational distinction between Huma herdsmen and Iru farmers did not always mean that the Huma ranked higher, although Iru men were not permitted to marry Huma women. Moreover, there were, and are, clans with both Huma and Iru branches; and the Hinda were members of such a clan. In Rusubi today there are very few Huma and a handful of Hinda, mainly members of the royal lineage. Although, from their association with the ruling house and their ability to marry into it, the Huma had a traditionally greater access to political power, today they tend to be despised

[1] Huma, in Buzinza.

[2] P. H. Van Thiel, 'Buzinza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda', *Anthropos*, vol. VI, 1911.

as backward and uneducated. They reluctantly supplement their pastoral activities by cultivation, but they seem to have resisted European influences to a greater degree than the agricultural Iru. A rich Iru farmer may employ Huma as herdsmen; there is evidence to suggest that this is not a recent development.

The traditional Zinza political system was differentiated from that of the kingdoms of Buhaya, to which it was comparable in some respects, by the fact that the ruling Mukama did not have direct control over all his territorial governors but only over the authorities on his own land who were directly subordinate. Moreover, the hierarchy of officials was shallower than in Buhaya; that is, there were fewer intermediaries between the ruler and the people. Each Zinza kingdom was ruled by a king, the Mukama, who administered the country round the capital himself but appointed various officials to rule other districts. These officials were known as *bakungu* as among the Haya; today they are called *makatikiro* (sing., *katikiro*) and are ranked in order of precedence. A man could be transferred from one post to another by the king. Each *katikiro*, or governor, appointed his own subordinate lords (*babezi*, sing., *mubezi*) to help him. Any territorial administrator depended for his authority on the man directly superior to him, who could appoint or dismiss him at will and to this official he paid tribute. Thus the governors (*makatikiro*) were appointed directly by the king and were generally chosen from among his supporters or from members of the royal dynasty.[1] They were wealthy men, who had been rewarded for their services to the ruler by gifts of cattle and slaves. They were also military leaders; the most senior were placed by the king at strategic points on the borders of the kingdom to protect it against invaders. Their authority did not, as it did farther north, rest on their control of land in their area; and it appears that land was never scarce in Zinza country. All land, like authority, was ultimately vested in the king.

The subordinates or lords of each governor were his clients, generally Iru, and always men of wealth and influence in their neighbourhoods. Their relation to their lord was similar to that of the governors to the king. They arbitrated in disputes and could act informally as counsellors to their lord. They could bring legal

[1] The custom of dividing a kingdom among brothers or sons seems to have continued here till the nineteenth century. Van Thiel reports that Mutatembwa, a king confirmed in office by the Germans in Buchosa, divided his land among his brothers, although the Government recognized only him (op. cit.).

disputes to him if they had been unsuccessful in securing a settlement themselves, and the governor in his turn might bring cases before the king. The king did not directly control the governor's subordinates, who were directly responsible to the governor, paying him tribute and receiving rewards for their loyal support. Any subordinate could, however, also pay tribute direct to the king and subsequently present himself for a post as a governor.

The Zinza considered the posts of governor or lord to be hereditary in that a man was usually succeeded in office by his heir, his son or, failing him, a brother. But a man could only succeed with the consent of his superior and succession had to be recognized by the superior. It was customary for the successor to renew his relationship with his superior with gifts, usually of cattle. A ruler could, as we have said, appoint or dismiss subordinates at will; he could also refuse to allow an office to be passed on to the heir. There appear in fact to have been frequent changes at all levels and there is no living chief who can claim to be descended from more than two generations of rulers. This is partly due to European influence, but it is also true that hereditary succession to office does not seem to have been firmly established in the traditional system. At the death of a ruler there was often a war of succession between his sons and consequently a reshuffle among the governors or subordinates. A newly created lord would also make changes among his own assistants or bailiffs. Governors might fight among themselves, even during the reign of a king, each seeking to enlarge his sphere of influence at the expense of the other. The ruler did not always intervene.

As in most of the kingdoms of the Interlacustrine Bantu, the Zinza rulers, and the more important governors, had permanent palaces or households consisting of courtiers and servants. It was the custom for young men and boys to be sent to the palace of the king, or to the household of a governor or lord, for training, in order that they might learn traditional methods of administration and, if they found favour, receive appointments to political office. It will be seen that many chiefs in the modern administrative system have had such experience at a palace.

The Modern System

The present political system shows several new features. The British, besides amalgamating small kingdoms to form larger units

in eastern Zinza, also introduced a new type of chieftainship. They recognized the hereditary post of king, making him a chief or county chief in the terminology used here. They also created the office of sub-chief or sub-county chief (*mwami*, pl., *bami*).[1] This was done in order to create larger units for the operation of formal courts and to make for more efficient administration. It must be remembered, however, that these sub-counties are small in comparison with similar units in Uganda; in Biharamulo district the number of taxpayers in a sub-county varies from 876 to 2,783. It will be noted, too, that whereas in Busoga the new unit created was the parish, in the Zinza area the innovation was a larger unit, the sub-county.

A council (*lukiko*), consisting of the Mukama and his advisers, was recognized as a formal court and each *mwami* beneath the Mukama was also given a recognized court, *gombolola*. These were described as 'A' and 'B' courts respectively under the Native Courts Ordinance and as 'Local Courts' after 1951. In 1948 in Biharamulo district, these advisory councils, *lukiko* and *gombolola*, consisted of elected and nominated members together with representatives of the lower grades of chief. The Mukama, in the case of the *lukiko* council, and the *mwami*, in the case of the *gombolola* council, sat as presidents of the council, and these bodies all gave opportunities for the discussion of local problems and the raising of questions with the chief in charge. In 1952 these councils were reconstituted and the *lukiko* council was replaced by a district council which included representatives from the non-Zinza chiefdoms in the district with the district commissioner in the chair. Similar councils, modelled on the Sukumaland pattern, were set up in Geita district in 1952.

The present hierarchy of officials is thus composed of four levels of chief: Mukama (county chief), *mwami* (sub-county chief), *katikiro* (parish chief), and *mubezi* (headman);[2] the lowest level is traditional and without statutory recognition. Appointments to the different levels of chieftainship show that the creation of something like a modern administrative service has been aimed at. The Europeans, Germans and British alike, recognized the hereditary nature of the Mukama's office but reserved the right to depose any incumbent and to suggest a successor, either from among the deposed ruler's relatives or from outside Zinza. One of the present

[1] The Zinza sub-chiefs of Geita district are called *batwale* (sing., *mutwale*).

[2] In Geita district the terms are Mukama (or *ntemi*), *mutwale*, *mwanangwa* and *musweta*.

Bakama succeeded his father who was made Mukama by the Germans; he is not by origin a Zinza. The Bakama are paid, but not normally pensionable, as their appointments are for life, subject to satisfactory conduct: they are not transferable.

Below the Bakama are the *bami*, or sub-county chiefs. They are chosen and appointed by the chief on the advice of the district commissioner and subject to his approval. They are paid, pensionable and transferable, since the posts have no foundation in the traditional system. District commissioners may deal direct with the sub-county chiefs and in Rusubi at any rate do not always act through the Mukama.

The county chief appoints or confirms the succession to office of the various parish chiefs (*makatikiro*), who are paid but not pensionable, since the appointment is generally for life. They may be dismissed for inefficiency either by the county chief or by the district commissioner acting through the county chief. The parish chiefs are the lowest level of officials to be recognized as Native Authorities and to be paid from the Native Treasury.

Each parish chief still appoints his own headmen, or *babezi*, but these officials do not form part of the recognized hierarchy of paid chiefs: they merely receive a fee from the parish chief who appoints them. Both *babezi* and *makatikiro* may, and do, arbitrate in disputes out of court; the former may bring cases to the parish chief for his arbitration and the parish chief may recommend that the dispute be brought before the court of the *mwami*, or sub-county chief.

The following discussion of the present-day position of the chiefs in Zinza is based on information obtained from Rusubi chiefdom in Biharamulo district between 1951 and 1952, with supplementary data from Buchosa and Karumo chiefdoms in Geita district. A vertical sample section was taken in Rusubi and supplemented with additional data from Rusubi and the other two chiefdoms. The three chiefdoms represent the most important of the traditional polities of the Zinza.

The data show most strikingly that whereas the lower chieftainships are virtually the monopoly of Zinza, the higher chiefs are drawn from elsewhere as well. Only one of the three Bakama is Zinza by origin; he is a Hinda of the ruling dynasty. Of the other two, one succeeded his father, who was a Jita and given the post of Mukama originally by the Germans; the other came from Haya

country but has lived most of his life in Buzinza.[1] 60% of the sub-county chiefs are Zinza, all of them Huma; 86% of the parish chiefs and 90% of the headmen are Zinza. The Zinza parish chiefs are almost all Iru (7% are Hinda and 2·3% are Huma); the *babezi* are all Iru.

There is also a clear division between lower and upper grades of chief where religious affiliation and education are concerned. All three county chiefs are Catholics; two have had primary education and one has had secondary education. Of the sub-county chiefs 40% are Catholic and 60% pagan; 60% have had primary education and the rest none. Of the parish chiefs, 77% are pagan; only 23% have had primary education, 5% have attended 'bush schools' and the rest have had no education. All the headmen are pagan and uneducated, except for one who has had some primary education, though he is not a convert.[2]

There is no great division between lower and higher chiefs in terms of estimated age, except for the fact that only among the parish chiefs are there men under 30 to be found. 14% of parish chiefs are under 30, and in general parish chiefs appear to be somewhat younger than other chiefs. Thus, although the higher grades of chief are more westernized, in that more of them are converts and have a better education, one cannot say that they represent a new educated generation which is replacing the older traditional authorities.

The three county chiefs represent three different results of the impact of European government on the traditional system. One is the son of a former Hinda king,[3] another succeeded his father, who was of non-Zinza origin,[4] and the third, a non-Zinza by origin, was appointed direct to the office, having had no previous connection with it. The first can be said to represent the system whereby the office is considered hereditary by succession and goes to the son who is chosen as being most fit to hold it. The second shows how

[1] Since these data were collected, the latter has retired through old age.

[2] Education is still largely in the hands of missions in this area, so that education without conversion is rare.

[3] This chief was his father's choice for the succession. Since the material was collected in 1952, he has retired at the suggestion of the Administration. His successor is his brother, who was originally a sub-county chief but for some years previous to his appointment as Mukama had been acting as deputy county chief, a post that had been specially created by the Administration.

[4] On the death of this chief's father, the traditional Hinda rulers laid claim to the chieftainship again. The present chief was chosen by an electoral college, a Hinda being one of the candidates.

an office that was originally a direct appointment by the king became hereditary on the death of the appointee, since the son of the dead man was elected to fill his office. Finally, the third Mukama owes his position to direct appointment. None of the three Bakama have ever been chiefs of another grade, though two have been clerks in the African Local Government and one was a teacher. Two of them have been in office for over twenty years; the third, a younger man, has been Mukama for six years.

The five sub-county chiefs in the sample represent a new type of official. Of the three Zinza, two are Iru and one a Huma, the latter claiming royal (Hinda) ancestry in a neighbouring kingdom. Of the remaining non-Zinza two are of the royal lines of neighbouring kingdoms and are therefore also considered 'Huma' in Zinza country. Sub-county chiefs have been freely transferred; none of them has been over ten years in his present post and two (40%) have held office for less than two years. The mobility of sub-county chiefs is partly due to a comparatively high dismissal rate.

Since the creation of effective sub-county chieftainships in 1927[1] there have been 23 different holders of the five existing offices at this level and a total of 27 changes of office (i.e. four chiefs have held office in more than one sub-county); 48% of the changes of office have been the result of dismissals.[2] As can be seen from the table of previous occupations, the sub-county chiefs are drawn from men with varying experience. Two have been parish chiefs and were appointed to be sub-county chiefs by the Mukama. The others, who had been chosen by the district commissioner in conjunction with the Mukama, had had various jobs: three had worked in the district administration, two as clerks; others had been traders, one a teacher, one in the army, and two had held traditional offices at the Mukama's palace.[3]

Although two of the five sub-county chiefs had been parish chiefs, it is fair to say that there is little mobility upwards from parish chieftainship, for these two parish chiefs were specially promoted by the Mukama and hence one could equally well say that the posts have been identified with the post of *katikiro* in the

[1] See Provincial Report, 1927.

[2] These figures do not include changes as a result of the closing of one *gombolola*, the opening of one new one and the merging of two others, reducing the original number of six to the present five.

[3] Most of these men had held more than one previous occupation, so that the total number of previous occupations is greater than the number of sub-county chiefs in the sample.

traditional system. Loyal supporters can still be made parish chiefs or promoted from parish to sub-county chieftainships in this way. However, the system itself does not encourage promotion from the ranks of parish chief, because the post of parish chief is not attractive to men who have the necessary qualifications for higher chieftainship.

Of the parish chiefs, nearly half had held traditional offices at the palace, showing that the old system of training men or giving them opportunities to become chiefs still functions. The Mukama had appointed 21, and fifteen had succeeded to the office; seven had been appointed by non-traditional means, of which three had been elected by popular vote. Of the fifteen men who had succeeded to the office of parish chief, two succeeded their mother's brothers and one his brother; the rest succeeded their fathers. In the case of another, his father had abandoned the chieftainship which the Mukama later asked him to re-establish. None of the parish chiefs had been transferred from other parishes to their present one, with four exceptions, and these had been given chieftainships elsewhere when the sleeping-sickness concentrations containing their parishes were closed.[1] Seven of them (16%) had been headmen and all of these men had also held traditional offices at the Mukama's palace and probably owed their promotion to the favour they had found there.

Like the sub-county chiefs, parish chiefs have had varying occupations, besides those of headman or palace official: 37% had been itinerant traders and most of these men had migrated for a period to find work outside Zinza. Several had held subordinate positions in the African Local Government: one had been a clerk, three court assessors and three messengers,[2] one a domestic servant and one an agricultural instructor. In general, one can say that parish chiefs have had either a training at the Mukama's palace or have had wide experience all over the country and outside it.

The headmen are slightly older as a class than the parish chiefs and have had a longer average time in office: 36% have been between six and ten years in office and over 60% have served over ten years. Seven inherited their offices and twelve were appointed by the *katikiro* although they had had no previous con-

[1] The creation of sleeping-sickness concentrations caused considerable disruption in the distribution of headmanships.

[2] In the traditional system, messengers known as *ruga-ruga* were used by the Mukama to maintain communication with his lords. They were sometimes given executive powers to dismiss or execute an unruly lord.

nection with the post. Nearly all of them (84%) had been migrant labourers but very few had had other posts. One had been a messenger for the African Local Government, two had had traditional offices at the Mukama's palace, one had been an unskilled labourer and one had worked as an itinerant trader. None had been moved from the post to which he had been appointed first.

In general, the modern political system of the Zinza shows some interesting features. The whole area is poor and 'backward' and the lack of assimilation of European values is very marked. In 1952, three sub-county chiefs and the vast majority of all lower chiefs were still pagan, a situation not paralleled in any other tribe discussed in this book. Chiefs are thus drawn from among those men who have slightly wider experience than their fellows, rather than from an educated class, and among the lower chiefs traditional methods of appointment are still largely followed. There is little mobility from grade to grade and no evidence of the emergence of an educated élite likely to provide chiefs.

The present political system seems to show two trends. The Hinda/Huma no longer retain their greater access to political power and indeed those few remaining in the country have declined in social status *vis-à-vis* the Iru. They are only dominant among the new class of chiefs that has been created by the European administration. In part, the failure of the Hinda dynasty to remain in power was due to its opposition to European rule or to its failure to conform to the standards of administration required under European government. For these reasons many of the Hinda have been deprived of their former power. The once dominant class has suffered from a combination of historical and economic circumstances. The epidemics of cattle disease at the time of the arrival of the Europeans compelled the pastoral section either to leave the country or to be reduced to comparative poverty; their tradition of pure pastoralism kept them from turning to cultivation, an inhibition not felt by cattle-keeping Iru. Further, the Huma (as opposed to the royal Hinda) do not appear to have desired the advantages of the education that became available. The economic development of Zinza country has not been such that Hinda, or Huma, could capitalize on their positions of authority and become landlords of profitable estates growing cash crops as they did, for example, in Buhaya. In Buhaya we have seen that the control of land has been the source of power for a

chiefly class whose wealth is based on the production of coffee as a cash crop. In Zinza country, by contrast, the majority of those in authority earned wealth and experience outside their own country; in this, the Iru who emigrate to work as labourers have a considerable advantage over the pastoral Huma.

Formerly many Huma and Hinda were considered by the Mukama as dangerous rivals whom he could not afford to trust. Some were possible heirs to the throne, and all were able to marry into the royal housc and so to gain political influence. Members of the royal house itself were seldom given important lordships for fear they would try to increase their power and eventually attempt to seize the kingship. Nowadays, however, the power of the British Administration is to a large extent behind the king and this makes his position stronger, so that he appears to have lost his fear of Hinda and Hima rivals. Some of the Hima princes, and some of the Huma allied to them by marriage, are still wealthy, and it is said that they have suffered less than other pastoralists from the effects of the cattle epidemic, presumably because they had larger herds. For men of this class, close relationships of either kinship or affinity with the royal line are now important as a means of achieving political office. Hinda and Huma are sometimes appointed as sub-county chiefs. For instance, in the sample there are three Huma sub-county chiefs as against two Iru.[1]

Thus it is true that radical changes have occurred in the system of appointment of chiefs. A once all-powerful ruling class has no longer exclusive rights to political office, and it seems likely that as the system becomes more bureaucratic Iru will take an increasing share of political power. Yet the increasing sense of security which the Mukama now enjoys means that he is not afraid to allow members of the royal lineage, or Huma allied to him by marriage, to achieve positions as important as those they would have held in the traditional system.

NOTE ON TABLES

Terminology.

Chiefs in the Tables below are shown in the following classes:

Class	*Title*	*Title in Tanganyikan terminology*
I.	County chief	Chief (Mukama)
II.	Sub-county chief	Sub-chief (*mwami*)
III.	Parish chief	Parish chief (*katikiro*)
IV.	Village headman	Village headman (*mubezi*)

[1] A similar situation exists in Buhaya.

The Sample.

The figures were collected mainly in Rusubi, an area equivalent to a border county in Biharamulo district. There is a total sample of sub-county chiefs (five) and a total sample of parish chiefs (45) barring 4%. All the headmen of one sleeping-sickness settlement of four parishes were also interviewed.

Two other county chiefs (Buchosa and Karumo) were, however, added to the county chief of Rusubi.

The Tables.

Percentages were worked out on the basis of Actual Totals, i.e. the number of chiefs in each class in the sample. The refusal rate was, however, low and there was little difference between Actual Totals and Totals.

In the case of Tables 4 and 5 the categories are not mutually exclusive, since a man might have worked for the Central Government as well as for a mission for instance (Table 4); or as a clerk as well as a trader (Table 5). Hence the figures do not necessarily total 100%.

THE ZINZA

Class of Chief

1. AGE

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
20–30 years	0	0	13·9	0	8·6
31–40 ,,	33·3	40·0	18·6	26·3	22·8
41–50 ,,	0	20·0	11·6	31·5	17·1
51–60 ,,	33·3	20·0	30·2	21·1	27·1
61–70 ,,	0	20·0	23·3	21·1	21·4
over 70 ,,	33·3	0	2·3	0	2·9
Actual Totals	3	5	43	19	70

2. EDUCATION

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
None	0	40·0	72·0	94·8	72·9
Primary	66·7	60·0	28·0	5·2	25·7
Secondary	33·3	0	0	0	1·4
Makerere	0	0	0	0	0
Overseas	0	0	0	0	0
Actual Totals	3	5	43	19	70

3. RELIGION

	Class of Chief				
	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
Protestant	0	0	0	0	0
Roman Catholic	100·0	40·0	23·3	0	21·4
Muslim	0	0	0	0	0
Pagan	0	60·0	76·8	100·0	78·6
Actual Totals	3	5	43	19	70

4. PREVIOUS EMPLOYERS

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
Central Govt.	0	60·0	2·3	0	5·7
African Local Govt.[1]	66·7	60·0	4·6	5·2	1·1
Traditional ruler	0	40·0	48·9	0	32·9
Employment outside Buzinza	0	0	35·0	84·3	44·3
Actual Totals	3	5	43	19	70

5. PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
Clerk	66·7	40·0	2·3	0	7·1
Teacher/Clergy	33·3	60·0	0	0	5·7
Inspector[2]	0	20·0	2·3	0	2·9
Police/Army	0	20·0	0	5·2	2·9
Trader	0	20·0	37·2	0	24·3
Unskilled labourer	0	0	37·2	84·3	45·7
Headman	0	0	16·3	0	10·0
Royal retainer	0	40·0	48·9	0	32·9
Domestic servant	0	20·0	2·3	0	2·9
Actual Totals	3	5	43	19	70

[1] 'African Local Govt.' here refers to employment other than that of chief.
[2] 'Inspector' refers to work of a supervisory nature; an agricultural, health or education inspector or a foreman.

6. TENURE IN PRESENT POST

	Class of Chief				
	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
0–5 years	0	80·0	37·2	31·5	37·1
6–10 ,,	33·3	20·0	23·3	36·8	27·1
11–15 ,,	0	0	7·0	15·7	8·6
16–20 ,,	0	0	11·6	10·6	10·0
21–25 ,,	66·7	0	20·9	5·2	17·1
Actual Totals	3	5	43	19	70

7. DESCENT

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
Royal (Hinda clans)	33·3	0	7·0	0	5·7
Huma clans	0	60	2·3	0	5·7
Commoners	66·7	40	90·7	100	88·6
Actual Totals	3	5	43	19	70

Association tests.

G. M. Teoh attempted to correlate age with educational level, previous employment and direct appointment to chieftainship as distinct from promotion from lower ranks, but the results were not significant.

Chapter IX

THE HA[1]

The Ha inhabit a roughly triangular area on the north-western frontier of Tanganyika. It is bounded to the east by the Moyowosi river; to the west by the frontier between Tanganyika and Urundi and by the shores of Lake Tanganyika. The base of the triangle is a line running parallel to and north of the Tanganyika Central Railway. To the west and north of Buha lies Urundi; a number of Rundi have also settled in the territory of the Ha. To the east are the Sumbwa and Nyamwezi and to the south the Vinza. In Buha itself there are some Subi living in the north and Vinza in the south.

The highland district of Buha stands at an average height of about 5,000 feet above sea-level, rising gradually from east to west. It is healthy, well-watered and free from tsetse fly. The higher country in the west is broken by the Malagarasi valley; the highlands are thus composed of the country round and to the west of Kibondo as well as a much larger area in south-west Buha. The major proportion of the mountainous country which is situated in south-west Buha is rather densely populated by cattle-keeping Ha and Tusi. The remaining part of the country, that is to say, the plains to the east of the highlands, is largely covered with tsetse-infected bush, except for some comparatively small tracts of land near the rivers Malagarasi and Moyowosi where cattle are also kept. In the south-east pasture land is available, and along these river beds cattle are kept by Ha and Tusi. Formerly people in the bush areas of Buha lived in isolated small settlements, but when sleeping-sickness began to spread during the 1930's the Administration concentrated them in a number of special settlements. These settlements are areas cleared of bush where the advance of tsetse can be checked.

[1] Written by J. La Fontaine from material collected by J. H. Scherer, Dutch Government scholar working in the area from 1951–3.

Cattle were socially and politically important,[1] in the traditional system; the conditional gift of cattle created a relationship of patron and client between donor and receiver, usually associated also with the status of superior and inferior in the political system (see footnote below). However, even in the areas where cattle-keeping is possible the people rely on agriculture for their basic subsistence. The staple foods are sorghum, millet, maize, cassava, pulses and sweet potatoes, with the addition of milk and irregular supplies of meat in the cattle areas. Beer is an important item of diet; it is made from bananas, which are mainly grown for this purpose, and also from millet.

Neither the mountain nor the lowland Ha grew crops for cash at the time the survey was made and though the Government was attempting to develop the country as a food-producing area for neighbouring territories, yet Buha as a whole was much less advanced economically than Buhaya, Buganda or Busoga and the people had acquired a reputation for being backward and conservative. The railway at Kigoma is, however, not far distant, and the produce and retail markets introduced by the Government have proved successful and popular. Coffee has been introduced and its production is expected to spread during the next few years. From the point of view of chieftainship the lack of economic development at the time of the survey was significant. In the traditional system cattle rather than land were important, as we have said, and nowadays the absence of a cash crop has meant that there has been no basis for the formation of a wealthy landowning class from which chiefs might be drawn, as has been the case in Buhaya.

Little is known of the origin of the Ha. Some of the people claim that their ancestors came from Urundi, while others say that the Ha have lived in Buha since time immemorial. The Tusi, who are thought to have entered the country some 200 years ago, are divided into several clans, some of which claim to have originated in Ruanda-Urundi.

There is evidence that in pre-Tusi times Buha was inhabited by localized patrilineages under the political authority of lineage heads. Scherer, who worked in Buha from 1951–3, describes officials known as *bateko* (sing., *muteko*) who have the ritual duty of 'cooling' the territories they are in charge of when disasters such as crop

[1] It is the use of cattle transfers to cement social relationships which differentiates the southern and south-western group (Nyankole, Ruanda, Rundi and Ha) from the other Interlacustrine tribes, e.g. Ganda and Soga.

failure, epidemics or the raids of wild beasts threaten the population. Formerly they directed agricultural production and distributed garden lands; they also apportioned land in the irrigated river valleys. When a homestead was abandoned, its gardens and banana plantations reverted to the *muteko*. The office was hereditary and the holder was in charge of regalia of office, in particular a drum. It seems that formerly *bateko* acted as heads of lineages. They conducted lineage ritual and often possessed drums as symbols of office. Today the lineage is no longer a functioning corporate unit but the present *bateko* are men who can claim descent from a long line of ancestors living in the area. It may happen also that they belong to a clan of which the name is connected with that of the territory. For example, Scherer met one *muteko* who was of the clan of Sagwamba, who lived in an area called Gwamba. The association of lineage name and area name is not, however, universal.

It seems that the Tusi superimposed their political system on this original lineage structure. Lineage heads, or *bateko*, lost their political authority but retained their rights to allocate land in their lineage territory and to perform rituals.[1] It is said that *bateko* existed in pre-Tusi times; and it is certain that no Tusi ever acted in this capacity. In Buha, as elsewhere, the Tusi came to form a politically powerful caste, some of their clans establishing themselves as royal dynasties. They do not, however, appear to have identified themselves with the peoples they dominated as has happened in the other stratified kingdoms of the Interlacustrine Bantu. A Ha is a commoner; that is to say, someone who is not a Tusi.

The stratification of Buha is thus simpler than in either Buhaya or Buzinza. There appear to have been only two castes, separated from one another by taboos on intermarriage and joint eating. It seems from Scherer's evidence that, as among the Zinza, some clans had both Tusi and commoner members. Both Tusi and Ha claim that they have always owned cattle, and both engaged in agriculture, so that, occupationally speaking, there was less separation between Ha and Tusi than between the pastoral and agricultural sections of other Interlacustrine kingdoms.[2]

[1] One of the modern Tusi chiefs is said to have cancelled the rights of the *bateko* to allocate land and this decision has not been challenged.

[2] The actual work on the land was, however, often done by servants, clients and others, especially among the Tusi.

Buha, like Buhaya and Buzinza, was divided into a number of petty kingdoms. During the nineteenth century a process of splitting and amalgamating similar to that described for the Zinza was probably going on. There seems to have been a tendency for hereditary kinglets to place either sons or brothers as princes over outlying provinces, which in time became independent. For instance, Bushingo and Luguru were originally part of Heru but probably broke away during the first half of the nineteenth century. The great-grandfather of the present ruler of Luguru, like the first independent kinglet of Bushingo, was a near agnatic relative of the then ruler of Heru. It was also possible for a kinglet to give part of his territory to another Tusi lineage as bride-wealth for a woman of that lineage. This seems to have been done when the woman came from the ruling house in a neighbouring kingdom; that is to say a ruler might give a tract of country as a fief to a member of a Tusi lineage in lieu of the ordinary bride-wealth—cattle. It is not unlikely, for instance, that the present sub-chiefdom, Bunganda, was given as bride-wealth by a ruler of Heru to the Tusi lineage formerly dominant there. It seems probable that an institutionalized marriage-relation was set up between the chiefly dynasty of Heru and the sub-chief's dynasty of Bunganda; for three chiefs of Heru in direct succession (grandfather, father and son) married sisters or daughters of sub-chiefs of Bunganda. Apparently sons of chiefs of Heru born of a Bunganda wife were the preferred successors.

The traditional political system of the Ha, then, consisted of a number of petty kingdoms, dominated by a Tusi caste composed of different clans of which some became the ruling dynasties in the different kingdoms. In Heru and the associated kingdom of Luguru and Bushingo, the kings were of the Kimbiri clan; in Nkalinzi the rulers were of the Jiji clan and the ruling house in the closely related kingdoms of Muhambwe and Buyungu was of the clan of the Humbi. The rulers were linked together, as we have seen, by ties of common clan membership or by intermarriage. The situation was fluid in that the territorial composition of each kingdom changed according to the fortunes of its ruler and to the success of subordinates in breaking away and setting up their own states. In contrast to the position in the kingdoms of Buzinza, non-Tusi do not seem to have been able to establish dynasties; before the arrival of the British all the rulers came of Tusi clans.

Each kingdom was ruled by a hereditary kinglet, the *mwami*, and the majority of the rulers holding office in 1952 could trace their descent through long lines of ruling ancestors. The present ruler of Heru has, for example, fourteen or fifteen predecessors. Of these royal ancestors, the names of nine have been recorded since 1850 by European travellers and others. About the earlier ancestors, that is to say those living in the beginning of the nineteenth century, little is known. Chief Rusimbi, whose descendant is today ruling Nkalinzi, was discovered by Burton in a kingdom with roughly the same boundaries, in 1851. The chiefdoms of Muhambwe and Buyungu have equally long records of succession.

The office of kinglet is passed patrilineally to a son of the dead man; however, unlike other tribes studied in this book, the daughter of a ruler could succeed if there were no sons. In fact, a daughter seems to have been preferred to a male descendant of a collateral line (brother or brother's son). The rule of primogeniture was not necessarily followed. In Heru, as has been shown, there have been a number of cases in which the son of a woman of an influential and powerful sub-chieftain in Bunganda was the preferred heir; a younger son by a Bunganda wife might succeed before an elder son by another wife. The kinglet could nominate a son to be his heir, but there were often wars between rival claimants to the throne.

It is not clear whether the chiefs of Buha had important ritual duties in former days. Scherer was told that a *mwami* must be physically perfect and that the heir would be scrutinized for defects that might make him ineligible. He also records a case in which the elder brother who succeeded to the throne of Luguru had both the ears of his younger brother cut off, as a punishment for contesting the succession and also presumably to make him ineligible for the office of kinglet.[1] Rulers kept food taboos; they might not tear their meat with their teeth lest their people be devoured by wild beasts. In Heru there is still a royal ceremony performed annually. Drumming on the royal drums and display of the royal spears are among the major events. Scherer was told that the ceremony was done for the chief's welfare and was essentially a sacrifice to the royal ancestors. Today the chieftainess of Heru is a Catholic and as such cannot participate in the ritual described: she is represented by her pagan grandmother at the ceremony. The mother of the chieftainess is a Christian too; her part as

[1] He did, however, succeed when his brother died.

mugabekazi, i.e. queen mother, is played by her pagan sister, who keeps the regalia and drums in her homestead.[1]

Kinglets were not buried in the ground, but their bodies were given special treatment. The corpse was placed in a cow-hide and smoked over a fire. It was then placed in a royal mortuary under the care of men of a particular clan, whose duty it was to act as custodians of the mortuary. They and the kinglet were not permitted to see one another during the latter's lifetime; they might not even approach each other's homesteads. The corpse of the queen mother was also treated in this way, and occasionally that of a powerful lord. Finally, after a new ruler's accession to office, he kept a period of seclusion comparable to that imposed on a new bride. Although there is no evidence to show that the ritual functions of kingship were more developed in Buha than in Buzinza or Buhaya kingdoms, they do appear to have survived longer here than in either of the other areas.

Each ruler had about him his counsellors, favourites, clients and followers. Ha kinglets do not appear to have evolved any real military organization such as that developed by the rulers of Buganda and Busoga.

Special favourites were made into governors of particular districts (*batware*). Their relationship to the ruler was comparable (and actually is compared by the Ha) to that between a cattle-client and his patron. These district governors had authority over the area they were given; they administered justice, collected fines and tribute and extracted labour dues. Part of the fines and tribute on the pasture lands, i.e. the cattle, had to be passed to the kinglet, who himself, without the intermediary of a district governor, ruled the area immediately surrounding his residence and thus more fully enjoyed its proceeds. Powerful governors managed to make their offices hereditary and might even expand the territory they ruled at the expense of their weaker neighbours. In other cases, the descendants were unable to maintain their rights to their fathers' offices, and a new lord was appointed by the ruler. In each case the authority of a district governor was ultimately dependent on the fact that he was appointed or confirmed in his office by the kinglet. The death of a ruler was evidently the occasion for

[1] W. B. Tripe, in 'The Tribal Insignia of Heru', *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, No. 16, 1943, calls the ceremony a fertility ceremony and says that its purpose is to bless the crops. As to the regalia, at the time of Tripe's visit, besides the spears, a leopard skin, a toga and a bracelet were displayed.

considerable jockeying for positions, both among the dead man's sons and among the district governors. The new ruler, when he had established himself, might maintain in office his predecessor's governors or he might depose them in favour of those people who had used their influence to help him succeed.

The different governors were not arranged in any hierarchical order and they do not seem to have been promoted from one post to another or transferred from district to district. The powers of each lord were much less formally delimited than were those of a governor in Buhaya. They might fight among themselves with little or no intervention from the ruler.

Each district governor appointed his own subordinate officials, also called *batware*, to assist him. They were chosen from among his own favourites or from among his relatives. The relationship between a governor and his subordinate was evidently much the same as that between kinglet and governor, though the fact that the subordinate did not administer justice was no doubt detrimental to his position. These sub-governors obtained authority over certain areas from their superior in return for assistance, support and tribute. They appointed local assistants to help them. These were known as *bararike* and were usually simple men, generally not well-to-do, but trusted by superior and inferior alike. Though the sub-governors often accorded rule over parts of their territory to their *bararike* (or rather appointed one in each part), the relation of the *bararike* to their superiors was not directly comparable with that between the other office-holders in the political hierarchy. The *bararike* were essentially messengers. Judging from the present holders of office, these men were rarely Tusi. It will be seen that only two out of 25 belong to Tusi clans at the present time (see Table 8).

Changes introduced by European Administration

Buha has been governed by three European powers. European rule did not affect radically the number of kingdoms that were in existence when the Germans arrived at the end of the nineteenth century. The first appearance of the Germans took the form of military patrols sent with the object of forcing the Ha to accept German rule. In Heru their object was only achieved after military action, and in another petty kingdom, Luguru, a succession war had to be quelled. The whole area was only pacified and brought

under German control shortly before the first world war broke out.

The Belgians invaded Buha from the Belgian Congo in 1916 and they administered the area until the settlement of the frontier between the mandated territory of Ruanda-Urundi and Tanganyika in 1921. This period of five years seems to have been one of considerable administrative confusion and various usurpers tried to get European support for their claims to the different 'thrones'. In 1921 the British assumed control and a period of continuous administration, as opposed to military occupation, began. The Germans had not appointed their own chiefs, although they probably followed their usual policy towards traditional kingdoms and tried to reduce the number of subordinate officials, in order to make for an efficient administration. The British found six independent kingdoms and although boundaries have since been adjusted, the central parts of these kingdoms are still recognizable. The British also pursued a policy of amalgamation in Buha. The three small kingdoms of Bushingo, Luguru and Bunganda were placed under the paramountcy of Heru, since they had close ties with it. The case of Bunganda, whose position in the traditional system we have explained, seems to have constituted a particular problem for the Government. Bunganda was originally a sub-chiefdom of Heru. On the arrival of the British it was first made a separate chiefdom but under the paramountcy of Heru; shortly afterwards it was again made a sub-chiefdom, under the ruler of Heru, and counted as part of his domain. In 1931, after the deposal of the Heru chief, who was son of a woman of the Bunganda line, Bunganda again became independent. In 1939 it was again placed under Heru, but in this year the hereditary Bunganda ruler died, and a commoner was appointed in his place. A similar problem was raised by the fact that, shortly before the arrival of the British, the ruler of Heru gave a portion of his territory as bride-wealth for a daughter of the kinglet of Nkalinzi. This ruler was, however, a usurper who was deposed on the arrival of the British. A boundary dispute followed.

After the second world war the Ha chiefdoms were distributed in two districts, Kasulu and Kibondo.[1] The population of the districts is not homogeneous, and besides the two groups of Ha and Tusi, which form 79% and 2% of the population respectively, there

[1] In 1955 Nkalinzi was made part of Kigoma district, so Ha chiefdoms are now found in three districts.

are small numbers of immigrants from other tribes. The largest of these groups is that of the Rundi, who formed 15% of the total population according to the 1948 census. Tusi are more numerous in the pastoral highlands where the proportion of Tusi to the rest of the population rises to 8% in some parts. In the 1948 census the total number of Ha was recorded as about 300,000, distributed among the four kingdoms in Kasulu and the two in Kibondo as follows:

Kasulu:	**Heru**	**155,206**
	Nkalinzi	**21,865**
	Bushingo	**8,934**
	Luguru	**5,305**
Kibondo:	**Muhambwe**	**53,616**
	Buyungu	**53,684**

The British recognized the rulers of the kingdoms as chiefs. We shall refer to them as county chiefs, as their position in the hierarchy of government is similar to that of the present county chiefs in Busoga, who were also originally kinglets. The British Government did not, however, try to create a unitary tribal state in Buha as it did in Busoga, although there is an annual chiefs' meeting.

The court of each chief was recognized as a court of first instance. At the time the British arrived, most of the district lords (*batware*) had hereditary titles to their offices. They were recognized by the Government as sub-chiefs (sub-county chiefs) and given courts of second degree. Below them came their subordinates, who had also acquired hereditary rights to their offices. These officials were recognized by the Government, but their number was very much reduced over a period of time. They were known as headmen but, to correspond with the Uganda usage, will here be referred to as parish chiefs. The three grades of chiefs were paid official salaries, but not pensions, because the appointments were hereditary and therefore supposed to last for life. The *bararike* continued to exist but they were not recognized as Native Authorities and they received no pay, except where the large numbers of people in their areas warranted it. Today these people are mainly respected villagers, who are neither wealthier nor more educated than the average but are regarded as men of position in their communities. They act as intermediaries between the people and the chiefs and receive small presents for their services, much as they did in the traditional system.

The Government did not make any more radical changes in the

first years. Up till the second world war all the hereditary ruling families were in power in their traditional kingdoms. Under the new Administration, the district commissioners had power to appoint and depose chiefs, subject to the approval of the provincial commissioner and the Governor, and after the war changes became frequent. Some county and sub-county chiefs were dismissed for inefficiency and new ones appointed. All parish chiefs are, in theory, elected by the people; in practice, it seems that the views of the county and sub-county chiefs carry great weight. Kinship, affinal or other ties between a sub-county chief and his parish chief may exist.[1]

Of the six rulers, now termed county chiefs, four were deposed after the last war. In one of these chiefdoms the deposed man was replaced by his son, but in the other three the hereditary ruler was replaced by people who were not even Ha. One was a Fipa who came to Buha as a mission teacher. He taught in the Kasulu division from 1936–48 and during this time he was chosen as parish chief by the people living round the mission station where he was teaching: from this position he was chosen by the district commissioner to become a sub-county chief in Heru-Chini. In Heru-Chini he replaced the hereditary ruler who was transferred elsewhere. Later he was made county chief of Bushingo. The other foreigners are a Sumbwa and a Manyema respectively, both born in Tabora.

As far as sub-county chiefs are concerned, an inspection of the career histories of nine sub-county chiefs in the chiefdom of Heru shows the changes taking place in the traditional system of appointment. Four of the nine are hereditary rulers; of the remaining five all are Ha, but one was formerly the ruler of another less important Heru sub-county chiefdom. In the years 1948 and 1949 three sub-county chiefs of Heru were dismissed. One was a Tusi, a hereditary ruler from a long royal line; another was a Tusi, a brother of the queen mother, who had been appointed to the post; and the last was a Government nominee who had been appointed a short time before.

Scherer collected the career histories of all fourteen parish chiefs of Manyovu sub-county and of eleven parish chiefs of Munyegera.

[1] For instance, in one sub-county, five parish chiefs were related to the sub-county chief by marriage: two were husbands of his sisters, and one the husband of a sister's daughter; the fourth was the father-in-law of his son, and the fifth was a parallel cousin of one of his brothers-in-law.

It will be seen from Table 9 that 64% of these chiefs were directly appointed as distinct from 36% who were hereditary. Nine had succeeded to a hereditary position which was formerly held by the previous incumbent's father or grandfather but in only five of these cases had the office been held in one line for more than one generation before the previous incumbent. In one of the nine cases a man succeeded to the office of his grandmother, when she was deposed by Government. Three came from a family that had originally been ruling either in another area or, in one case, in another chiefdom. Only two of these headmen were Tusi. The others had been directly appointed and were men who had no tradition of chiefdom in their family or lineage. One was a foreigner to Buha.

Eleven out of 25 parish chiefs were dismissed for inefficiency or other causes, chiefly in the period following the war. It must be realized however, that the position of these officials, formerly the assistants of sub-governors, was a precarious one before the arrival of the British and they were dependent on the strength and favour of their patrons for their appointment and for the establishment of any hereditary claims to office.

In Manyovu, seven parish chiefs (half the total number) were appointed to succeed men who were dismissed sometime during the years 1948–9. Of these deposed men only one was a hereditary office-holder; the others were Government nominees who had themselves succeeded deposed hereditary holders. In Munyegera, five parish chiefs were dismissed, two of them being hereditary holders and the rest nominees. Previously in this sub-county several parish chieftainships had been abolished. Thus it is clear that though hereditary claims to these minor posts are considered, where they exist, and appointments to office are for life, depending on good conduct, yet the Administration has often felt obliged to remove hereditary successors in favour of men it considered better for the work.

The economic development of Buha was not such, at the time of the survey, as would provide a pool of men who had had experience in other fields of life likely to form a useful basis for the work of a chief. There were no openings for landowners or businessmen and a man had, in effect, to be either a subsistence farmer, a Government employee or a mission teacher. However, the salaries paid to higher chiefs offered some inducement for men to leave posts of teacher or clerk to take such offices. County chiefs got between Shs. 180/– and Shs. 500/– a month, sub-county chiefs

between Shs. 50/– and Shs. 150/– per month and this compared well with other earnings. Parish chiefs got from Shs. 10/– to Shs. 60/– a month, with an average figure of Shs. 20/–. When it is remembered that a local domestic servant got about Shs. 45/– and a skilled artisan or driver about Shs. 70/–, it will be seen that the financial attractions of service as a lower chief were not very great.

The higher chiefs did not show a great difference in general education as between the hereditary and the appointed. Of the six county chiefs the hereditary rulers have, as would be expected, less experience in other occupations, but they do not appear to be less educated. Two hereditary rulers, but only one appointed chief, had had some form of post-primary education. All three hereditary rulers were adherents of the Roman Catholic faith: two of the non-hereditary chiefs were Catholic and the other a Muslim.

The difference between appointed and hereditary sub-county chiefs is similarly not very great. Five of the nine were Christians; one appointed sub-county chief was a Muslim, and one hereditary chief a pagan. Two of the four hereditary sub-county chiefs and two of those who were appointed had had no previous occupation in other spheres. One appointed chief was first a headman; the other was appointed to his present sub-county after having succeeded to a hereditary sub-county chieftainship in another chiefdom. Of the other appointed chiefs, two had been clerks, one a teacher and one an inspector. One hereditary sub-county chief had been a clerk, the other a clerk and a teacher. One of these combined his chieftainship with a post as minister of his church.[1] However, the appointed sub-county chiefs were slightly more educated than the hereditary. Although two of them had had no formal education they were both literate; of the others, two had had primary education and one a post-primary education past the eighth standard. Of the hereditary chiefs one was quite uneducated; another attended school for a short time but was illiterate; the other two had had primary education.

Among parish chiefs, the appointed chiefs appear to be slightly more educated than the hereditary. Fewer of them were pagan; that is to say five out of sixteen appointed chiefs were pagan, as opposed to six out of nine hereditary chiefs. Fewer too were illiterate; 77% of the hereditary parish chiefs were illiterate, whereas the percentage among appointed men was 69%. Neither

[1] His successor no longer does so.

hereditary nor appointed parish chiefs seem to have done much by way of previous occupations. One hereditary man had been, and still is, a religious teacher or catechist, and two appointed parish chiefs performed similar functions. One appointed man had been a paid labourer[1] and two had been teachers.

How far can it be said that the Administration has now established a trained civil service in Buha in place of the traditional system? In the old days there was little transferability from office to office and this is still basically true today. The sub-county chief of Manyovu was the son of a sub-county chief of Heru-Chini and succeeded him after his death. In 1948 he was transferred to Bushingo to act as county chief during an interregnum caused by the deposal of the Bushingo county chief. However, he did not like the post and after two months obtained permission to change places with the sub-county chief who had been appointed to his old post in Heru-Chini. After two months he was again transferred to Manyovu. No county chief seems to have been transferred; parish chiefs only on occasion.[2] Some parish chiefs have had to move their homesteads on account of amalgamation of parishes, but these movements cannot be called transfers. In fact, such transfers as do occur seem more in the nature of temporary expedients to meet particular circumstances than the institution of a system of transferable chiefs.

There also appears to be very little upward mobility. In the traditional system it seems to have been possible, though not likely, for a man to acquire a lordship from being a governor's or sub-governor's subordinate. It is probable though that most officials tried to consolidate their positions and make the office hereditary rather than aspire to promotion. Today there is little mobility; in fact, appointments are generally made for life, which does not make for upward mobility. One parish chief rose to become sub-county and ultimately county chief; another became a sub-county chief. One sub-county chief became a county chief. There is evidently none of the mobility which has been described for the other Interlacustrine tribes, nor even a situation comparable to that in Buhaya, where officials who are dismissed may be replaced by one of their subordinates. Constitutional changes have

[1] It seems that many parish chiefs have had this experience, but information on this point was only recorded for one man.

[2] There is one instance of a parish chief being appointed by his sub-county chief and then transferred to another area.

however been introduced since the time of the survey and the whole position in Buha must be reckoned as a transitional one.

NOTE ON TABLES

Terminology.

Chiefs in the Tables below are shown in the following classes:

Class	*Title*	*Title in Tanganyikan terminology*
I	County chief	Chief
II	Sub-county chief	Sub-chief
III	Parish chief	Parish chief.

The Sample

The sample consists of all the Class I chiefs, all the Class II chiefs in one chiefdom, Hera, of Kasulu division, and all the parish chiefs in the sub-chiefdom of Manyovu and Munyegera.

The Tables

Percentages were worked out on the basis of Actual Totals, i.e. the number of chiefs in each class in the sample. The refusal rate was, however, low and there was little difference between Actual Totals and Totals.

In the case of Tables 4, 5 and 10 the categories are not mutually exclusive, since a man might have worked for the Central Government as well as for a mission for instance (Table 4); or as a clerk as well as a trader (Table 5). He might also be a son of a chief as well as a brother-in-law of another chief (Table 10). Hence the figures do not necessarily total 100%. Where no data are available on specific points for certain chiefs, totals also cannot reach 100%.

THE HA

Class of Chief

1. AGE

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
21–30 years	33·3	33·3	12·0	20·0
31–40 ,,	16·7	11·1	40·0	30·0
41–50 ,,	33·3	44·4	28·0	32·5
51–60 ,,	16·7	11·1	16·0	15·0
61–70 ,,	—	—	4·0	2·5
Actual Totals	6	9	25	40

2. EDUCATION

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
None	—	33·3	80·0	57·5
Primary	50·0	66·9	20·0	35·0
Secondary	50·0	—	—	7·5
Actual Totals	6	9	25	40

3. RELIGION

	Class of Chief			
	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
Protestant	0	33·3	36·0	30·0
Roman Catholic	83·5	22·2	12·0	25·0
Muslim	16·5	11·1	0	5·0
Pagan	—	33·3	48·0	37·5
Actual Totals	6	9	25	40

4. PREVIOUS EMPLOYERS

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
Central Govt. and African Local Govt.[1]	50·0	44·4	0	17·5
Mission	33·3	22·2	20	22·5
European	16·7	0	0	2·5
Self-employed[2]	16·7	0	0	2·5
Actual Totals	6	9	25	40

5. PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
Clerk	16·7	44·4	0	12·5
Inspector[3]	50·0	11·1	0	10·0
Teacher/Clergy	33·3	33·3	16·0	10·0
Police/Army	16·7	0	0	2·5
Trader	16·7	0	0	2·5
Unskilled labourer	0	0	4·0	2·5
Actual Totals	6	9	25	40

[1] 'African Local Govt.' here refers to employment other than that of chief.

[2] 'Self-employed' describes a trader or business man; peasant cultivators are excluded.

[3] 'Inspector' refers to a man acting in a supervisory capacity as a health, agriculture or education inspector, or a foreman.

6. TENURE IN PRESENT POST

	Class of Chief			
	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
0–5 years	66·7	33·3	52·0	50·0
6–10 ,,	16·7	11·1	12·0	12·5
11–15 ,,	0	33·3	8·0	12·5
16–20 ,,	0	0	16·0	10·0
21–25 ,,	0	0	4·0	2·5
26–30 ,,	0	11·1	0	2·5
31–40 ,,	16·7	11·1	4·0	7·5
Actual Totals	6	9	25	40

7. TOTAL SERVICE AS CHIEF

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
0–5 years	50·0	22·2	44·0	40·0
6–10 ,,	16·7	11·1	16·0	15·0
11–15 ,,	0	22·2	8·0	10·0
16–20 ,,	0	11·1	20·0	15·0
21–25 ,,	0	11·1	4·0	5·0
26–35 ,,	16·7	11·1	4·0	7·5
36–45 ,,	16·7	11·1	0	5·0
Actual Totals	6	9	25	40

8. DESCENT

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
Royal (Tusi)	83·3	22·2	8·0	22·5
Commoner	16·6	77·7	92·0	77·5
Actual Totals	6	9	25	40

9. HEREDITARY TO APPOINTED

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
Hereditary Tusi	66·6	22·2	4·0	17·5
Hereditary commoner	—	22·2	32·0	25·0
Appointed	33·3	44·4	64·0	57·5
Actual Totals	6	9	25	40

10. RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER CHIEFS *Class of Chief*

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
Child of chief	66·6	55·5	44·0	50·0
Grandchild of chief	50·0	33·3	24·0	30·0
Brother	16·6	—	4·0	5·0
Brother or son-in-Law	—	22·2	—	5·0
Actual Totals	6	9	25	40

Association tests

G. M. Teoh correlated age with educational level, previous employment and direct appointment to chieftainship as distinct from promotion from lower ranks, but the results were not significant.

A Tanganyika Federation

Chapter X

THE SUKUMA[1]

In the framework of the changes which western education, commercial enterprise and systems of political administration have been making in Tanganyika, the most recent advances of the Sukuma of the Lake Victoria region have been striking. As in other parts of the Trust Territory, development was first held up by the economic depression which followed the 1914–18 war, then by changes of administration, by uncertainties as to the Mandate status of the Territory and finally by the second world war. Hence, though the Sukuma number close to a million and are thus the largest tribal group in Tanganyika, it was not until after 1945 that the attention of administrators, technicians, missionaries and scholars was focused on this people. For instance, the Sukuma Development Scheme dates from 1947.[2] Change has since taken place in all spheres of Sukuma life, but perhaps the changes in the political field have constituted the greatest threat to the stability of the social system. In 1950 H. Cory recommended constitutional changes for Busukuma, and as a consequence of pressures from both the British Administration and the emergent Sukuma élite, the values underlying the whole traditional political system in Sukumaland have been called into question.

Present-day Sukumaland embraces the five administrative districts of Shinyanga, Maswa, Mwanza, Kwimba and Geita.[3] The latter three districts border on the southern shore of Lake Victoria,

[1] Written by J. G. Liebenow as a result of a field study in Tanganyika during 1954, made possible through grants provided by the American Social Science Research Council, and the Program of African Studies of Northwestern University, U.S.A.

[2] Cf. D. W. Malcolm, *Sukumaland: An African People and Their Country*, 1953.

[3] Sukuma moved into Geita comparatively recently.

and collectively the five districts constitute the northernmost part of the central cultivation steppe of Tanganyika. Despite the vast area encompassed—some 20,000 square miles—the terrain of Sukumaland has a monotonous uniformity. There is some exceptional scenery, such as the fertile lake-shore area, the barren wastes of the Serengeti plains and the thorn thicket of Geita and Shinyanga. By and large, however, the general picture is one of rolling countryside, broken only by clusters of giant baobab trees or by massive granitic outcroppings, or kopjes, which often attain heights of 100 feet or more. Central Sukumaland is reported to have had a forest cover at one time and to have been rather abundant in game. With the increase in human occupancy, however, much of this area has been denuded of trees and the game has largely been driven to the hinterland. It is mainly baboon, hippo, wild pig, small antelope and porcupine that have remained to harass the human invader and ravage his plots of cassava and maize.

Sukumaland is predominantly rural in character; only slightly more than 1% of the African population resides in the principal urban areas of Mwanza, Shinyanga and Geita. A few minor settlements are found in the hinterland, but for the most part the ordinary Sukuma appears to prefer dispersed settlements in which each family homestead (*kaya*) is separated from its neighbour by a few hundred yards, or even a mile, of either cultivated, grazing or waste land.

Another characteristic of the population of this area is that it is mainly African in composition, as the accompanying table, based on the 1948 census, will reveal:

District	*Area in sq. miles*	*Europeans*	*Asians*	*Africans*	*African density per sq. mile*
Kwimba	1,861	20	401	237,962	128
Maswa	8,794	87	377	244,968	28
Shinyanga	3,706	148	1,450	212,503	57
Mwanza and Geita	5,558	331	3,535	187,219 140,048	79
	19,919	536	5,763	1,022,700	

The ubiquitous Indian shopkeepers, ginners, or clerks on sisal estates are the only Asians found residing outside the townships. Although European administrators and missionaries can be found

living in 'the bush', the European population is similar to the Asian in being limited largely to the townships or to the small enclaves around the Shinyanga diamond mines and the Geita goldfields. With the exception of several sisal estates, there are no non-African farms in Sukumaland.

A third characteristic of the population is that the African sector is itself largely homogeneous, if we treat the Sukuma and the Nyamwezi as a single tribal grouping. The latter people live to the south and west of the Sukuma, and the two speak the same language with differences in dialect. Kinship ties and similarities in law, custom and political and economic institutions unite them. The Sukuma-Nyamwezi component constitutes 97% of the population of Kwimba, 95% of that of Maswa, 90% in Mwanza, and 85% in Shinyanga. Only in Geita is the Sukuma population outnumbered by a conglomeration of Zinza, Rongo and Sumbwa. Even in that area, however, the Sukuma are fast attaining a majority as a consequence of planned migration from central Sukumaland into the areas recently cleared of tsetse bush.

The economy of the Sukuma is based primarily on agriculture, despite the fact that the tribe is among the leading cattle-herding peoples of East Africa, having a livestock population in excess of one million. Hides, milk, manure and occasionally meat have always played an important part in the subsistence economy, and under the pressure of paying taxes and of carrying out compulsory de-stocking for soil conservation during the recent decades, cattle have become increasingly valuable as a source of cash. Nevertheless, the most significant role of cattle in Sukumaland has been in the prestige economy. The exchange of cattle figures prominently in the various *rites de passage*, and the ownership of a large herd gives a man a commanding voice in his community.

Agriculture is still primarily of a subsistence character, maize, cassava and millet being the principal crops grown. But Government and missionaries encouraged the growth of cash crops by Sukuma peasants during the decades prior to the second world war, and the accelerated production of cotton during the war and postwar years has been the main factor in the developing of a cash economy. In 1954 earnings from this crop alone brought some cultivators incomes of over £500, and a broad section of the population has been provided with the means of purchasing hoes, cloth, bicycles and even tractors. Moreover, many Sukuma have extended their interests to secondary occupations such as

shop-keeping, transport and organizing marketing co-operatives. The impact of cotton production has not been limited to the economic sphere, for it has led to demands for increased educational facilities, improved housing and a greater share in the political affairs of Sukumaland for the new élite.

The problems of illiteracy, water and soil conservation and of the eradication of endemic diseases such as malaria, amoebiasis and bilharziasis in Sukumaland differ little in substance from those facing other areas of Tanganyika. The difference is rather one of degree and of the attempt to 'make haste quickly'. Sukumaland now stands after Chaggaland and Buhaya in economic prosperity, but its position has been relatively isolated and its economic crop has only become important since the war. It has proved unattractive to European settlement, and missionary resources have been scarce. All these factors have retarded change. Under the impact of programmes undertaken with Colonial Development and Welfare funds, and of other administrative programmes in the post-war period, however, the rate of change has been accelerated and this has posed many new problems of social and political adjustment.

The Traditional Political System[1]

The designation of the Sukuma as a tribal group is a relatively recent innovation. Indeed, the name 'Usukuma' merely means 'north country' in the Nyamwezi tongue. The basis for Sukuma tribal membership lies neither in the existence of an overall centralized political authority nor in the existence of circumcision or other rituals of admission to tribal membership. Instead, tribal affinity is based on similarity of language, laws, customs and political and economic institutions; on the spread of kinship ties throughout the various chiefdoms; and on joint residence in one region for many years. A very limited type of political unity was attained by the creation of a Sukumaland Federal Council in 1947.

A Sukuma's strongest loyalty is probably to his chiefdom. Individuals refer to themselves as Binza or Siha, or by other names designating the royal clan of their chiefdom, and a member of one of these sub-tribes can be defined as a subject of the chief of that

[1] In addition to my own findings, I am indebted here to the writings of Hans Cory, especially *The Ntemi*, 1951, and *The Indigenous Political System of the Sukuma*, 1954.

particular sub-tribe or chiefdom. Each chief, whether he ruled over a small or a large chiefdom, came of a royal line, possessed his own regalia and exerted supernatural influence over his own people.

The legends of the various chiefdoms seem to agree that the present inhabitants of Sukumaland are a mixture of Bantu and Hamite. The former were in residence in small dispersed settlements at the time when the Hima pastoralists, swinging down from the western side of Lake Victoria, established themselves as rulers over the Bantu cultivators. In Nera chiefdom in the central sector, where the history of chiefly succession purports to cover over 250 years, the establishment of Hima domination probably began before the eighteenth century in the far western chiefdoms and relatively later in the eastern reaches of Maswa district. Unlike the situation in Ankole, Buha and other areas where the Hima overlords remained as a racially distinct class, there are no observable physical differences today between the members of royal and of commoner clans in Sukumaland. Moreover, the ownership of cattle and the right to participate in the festive and religious ceremonies of the Sukuma chiefdoms are enjoyed by all, rather than being the exclusive prerogatives of the Hima class, as occurs in Ankole.

The area south of Lake Victoria presents us with almost an extreme case of the existence of multiple chiefdoms within a single tribal group. The Sukuma are divided into the 39 predominantly Sukuma chiefdoms within Kwimba, Mwanza, Maswa and Shinyanga districts and the eight mixed chiefdoms of Geita district; while the closely related Nyamwezi people are divided among 30 chiefdoms in Kahama, Nzega, and Tabora districts. In the pre-European period each of these chiefdoms was relatively autonomous. The reasons for the failure of the Hima to do little more than consolidate the Bantu colonies into small chiefdoms must be largely conjectural. A number of the old men attribute this to the fact that the Hima did not come *en masse* as military conquerors, but as individuals who were voluntarily accepted as rulers because of their superior economic position and organizing skill. Moreover, the vastness of the area, the prevalence of tsetse bush, and the presence of wild game made it as difficult for the Hima to consolidate as it had been for the Bantu leaders before them.

The process of political proliferation, moreover, seems to have increased as settlement spread. Nera and Usmao are reputed to have been formed as a result of subordinate officials making

themselves independent of the *ntemi*, or chief, of Buhungukira. A similar hiving-off is evident in the names of the two littoral chiefdoms of Massanza I and Massanza II. Furthermore, although Kollmann and other German administrators record that a number of chiefdoms were in an almost constant state of warfare with each other, political subjugation was not one of the customary results of defeat. The victor feared too much the vengeance of the spirits of past *batemi* (chiefs) who were thought to remain in charge of the defeated chiefdoms. Moreover, the strong clan ties which existed among the various chiefdom dynasties served as a barrier to imprudent action on the part of a conqueror. The chiefs of Nera, Usmao and Buhungukira, for example, are all Bakwimba; the chiefs of Magu and Sima are Golo; the Siha clan is strong in Shinyanga district; and the Binza control a number of chiefdoms in Maswa and Shinyanga districts.

The *raison d'être* of chieftainship appears to have consisted initially of the ability of the Hima strangers to act as impartial arbiters in interclan disputes and in the distribution of game captured in communal hunts. From these humble beginnings the typical *ntemi* came to exercise powers which might at first glance be regarded as autocratic. His authority as first magistrate of his chiefdom extended to judgments involving the death penalty and the confiscation of the convicted party's property. He also came to be the only truly wealthy person in his domain by virtue of the annual and occasional tribute payments which came to him in the form of cattle, grain or labour; his ownership of ivory and other precious commodities; his share in the tribal chase; his collection of court fines and fees. With this store of wealth at his command, the chief was able to purchase support for his regime and to withhold favours from the obstinate.

In addition to the economic factor there were a number of institutionalized group supports which enhanced the chief's dominant position in his chiefdom. One of these was the relationship obtaining between the chief and his royal guard. This guard consisted of the best warriors of the chiefdom, many of whom were ex-slaves captured in raid or combat. Since these individuals had few local family ties, owed their lives to the sufferance of the chief and were, besides, lavishly provided with the women and other spoils captured in raids, their loyalty to the *ntemi* was more reliable than that of the ordinary peasant. When a Sukuma army went into battle, the guard stayed behind to protect the chief and to

check any possible surprise move on the part of the enemy. Furthermore, the guard was often used to enforce the authority of the *ntemi* against rebellious elements within the chiefdom.

A second client relationship was the one between the chief and his *mwanangwa* or headman. The early Hima brought with them a number of followers who aided in the hearing of minor court cases, in collecting tribute, overseeing the cultivation of the chief's fields and, later, in allocating new land. In exchange for their fealty, the headmen were maintained at court, shared in the collection of fines, had their personal fields cultivated by the ordinary peasants and enjoyed the privileges of leadership and all the respect which went with it. As his clan increased, a chief might begin to appoint his own sons as *banangwa*. This was particularly significant in the hinterland areas, such as Bukwimba, Busiha and others, where matrilineal succession and inheritance prevailed. Inasmuch as a chief's sons were ineligible to succeed him, he could rely on a degree of filial support in the proper execution of his orders. The futures of father and sons were thus linked.[1]

Support of another character, and one which had autocratic tendencies, was the putative magico-religious powers of an *ntemi*, which could be used to secure success in battle, hasten the arrival or abatement of rain, ensure a good harvest or terminate an epidemic or a locust invasion. This semi-divine character of chieftainship was made manifest to the people in a number of contingent ceremonies, such as those taking place at his enthronement, before battle, during a period of pestilence, or at the birth of twins, as well as in the repetitive ceremonies connected with the annual agricultural cycle. As a consequence of this magico-religious prop for political authority, responsibility for the performance of chiefly duties appeared to lie not so much with a group within the society but rather with a non-empirical and external source, the *ntemi*'s ancestors, who indicated their approval or disapproval by visiting good or bad fortune upon the chiefdom. Further to insulate the chief from responsibility for failure in an enterprise, he usually acted through intermediaries. Thus, in the religious ceremonies the propitiation to the ancestors was carried out by a medicine

[1] It is not certain that succession to all chiefdoms was matrilineal. In two littoral kingdoms, Sima and Magu for instance, it was patrilineal. Matrilineal succession did not prevent influential headmen from serving as 'king-makers' or 'powers behind the throne'. The remembered history of Usmao chiefdom, for example, reveals a long struggle for power between two rival headmen, Linjachi and Kibiti, who created and deposed chiefs of Usmao almost at will.

man (*nfumu wa vulugu*), who would be rewarded or banished depending upon his 'success' or 'failure'. The same applied in warfare, where a military commander, rather than the chief, would bear the odium for failure in battle.

In probing more deeply into the character of the traditional political system of the Sukuma, the impression of autocracy is considerably modified. The dependence upon magico-religious supports was a precarious one at best in a land where drought and pestilence are recurrent phenomena. As Kollmann records, the *ntemi* who was 'successful' in securing the favour of his ancestors lived lavishly, acquired scores of wives and came to possess large herds of cattle. However, in times of 'failure' of his powers, the chief's responsibility to natural elements internal to the social system became evident. It was at such times that the true character of chiefly tribute as a famine relief fund for the benefit of the people was revealed. Moreover, in the case of a protracted crisis the strength and loyalty of the special guard were the only means by which a chief could be saved. The remembered histories of Magu, Sima, Nera, Usmao and other chiefdoms of central Sukumaland contain many cases of deposition of chiefs who 'failed' in their magico-religious powers.

In addition to this vague responsibility to 'the people' that was manifest in time of crisis, there were institutionalized checks on the authority of the chiefs which were operative at all times. One of these was the power of the royal family (called *banang'oma* in the north, and *bang'hong'hogong'ho* in the south and Nyamwezi in general). The *banang'oma* were the brothers and maternal uncles or cousins of the chief who, under the rules of matrilineal succession, were eligible to succeed to the chieftainship. They thus had a proprietary interest in protecting the royal dynasty as much against external threats as against internal disintegration resulting from the injudicious use of authority by the incumbent. Collectively they acted as the chief's council of state, advising him on his religious duties, regulating many aspects of his personal life, acting as his assessors in court, serving as 'listening posts' in areas of discontent in the chiefdom, caring for him in illness, arranging his funeral and electing his successor from among a host of candidates. They even had authority to execute summarily anyone who threatened the position of the chief. They shared, moreover, in the distribution of fines and fees and enjoyed great respect in their chiefdoms.

One of the primary duties of the royal relatives was that of selecting a successor to the chieftainship. In some instances this right of the *banang'oma* was usurped by a powerful leader who had slain or banished the former chief. A chief himself might also gradually relinquish his powers to the uterine nephew or brother of his choice. When the choice was left to the *banang'oma*, however, an elaborate method of selection was employed as a façade for concealing the actual struggle for power taking place within the ranks of the royal courtiers. Since this struggle constituted a source of instability within the chiefdom, the death of the *ntemi* was kept secret until a successor had been named. The selection was ostensibly made on the basis of certain signs revealed by an examination of chicken entrails, but this process actually provided a means of weighing the merits and strength of the various claimants without making it necessary for any of the *banang'oma* to commit himself too strongly in favour of one or another candidate. Like American presidential nominating conventions and papal elections, the discussions usually ended in an unanimous interpretation of the entrails.

In addition to the *banang'oma* there were organizations among the Sukuma peasantry which served as counterbalances to the exercise of chiefly authority or which performed political functions independently of the chief. The regular provision of assistance to the aged and distressed, for example, was a function of the various dance societies and age-groups. The *elika*, or young men's society, one of the nine age-grades into which the males and females of each village were organized, played an essential role in maintaining good order in the villages through promulgating codes of good conduct and enforcing them upon their members. Chiefs relied heavily on the young men's societies in recruiting warriors, organizing collective labour and in assisting new immigrants in their planting and house-building. The leaders of the *elika*, the *basumba batale*, were influential personages in their chiefdoms and they were able to arrange the terms of work contracts with the chiefs through a process resembling 'collective bargaining'. In sections of Maswa district the *basumba batale* had arrogated to themselves the right to allocate land, and in all districts it appears to have been the *basumba batale*, acting jointly, who demonstrated before a chief's hut and demanded his abdication when it was evident that his religious powers had 'failed' him. In western Shinyanga, in the period immediately preceding the arrival of the Germans, the

basumba batale constituted a strong threat to the chief's authority; and it was only the arrival of muzzle-loading rifles that turned the tide in favour of the chiefs.

Finally, it should be noted that commoner clans served as counterbalances to chiefly authority. The chief as first magistrate of his chiefdom only arrived at his judicial decisions in the presence of village and chiefdom elders, who were concerned not only with the preservation of Sukuma law and custom but also with protecting the interests of their respective clans. In extreme cases, clan members could remove themselves and their cattle to a neighbouring chiefdom, thereby depriving a tyrannical chief of a source of tribute as well as of warriors and labourers.

Modifications in the Sukuma Political System under European Rule

Despite the fact that the German Administration in East Africa was generally characterized as one of 'direct rule', the political system of the Sukuma seems to have been only slightly disturbed as a consequence of the imposition of German rule after 1885. Contributing factors to this Sukuma deviation from the pattern may be the lack of resistance to alien rule, the paucity of administrative personnel, the unattractive character of the area in so far as European settlement was concerned and the relatively isolated location of Sukumaland. One noticeable change in the political system, however, was initiated during this period, namely, the general change-over to patrilineal succession. The rationale for the change was that it permitted the administrators to concentrate their educational efforts on the sons of the chiefs rather than having to spead their efforts over a large host of possible claimants, who consisted of the sons or uterine grandsons of the sisters of the dead chief. Furthermore, it simplified the problem of succession from the point of view of the Administration. The British wavered on this point during the early phases of indirect rule, but the system of patrilineal succession is now all but universal. In the seventeen cases of chiefly succession that took place during the period 1939–1954 there is only one instance in which the *ntemi*-elect was not the son or grandson in the male line of a preceding chief. The one exception was a chief in Mwanza district who was the illegitimate son of the daughter of a previous *ntemi*. While patrilineal succession is the practice, it is not acceptable to all sectors of Sukuma society. A new district commissioner in an area may still be besieged with

petitions from claimants in the female line. Moreover, in one recent instance in Usmao chiefdom the claimants in the female line stole some of the enthronement paraphernalia in the hope of forestalling the installation of an *ntemi* in the male line.

The greatest changes in the Sukuma political system have taken place during the 40 years of British rule in Tanganyika. From 1916 to 1926 administration in Sukumaland resembled very closely the classic description of direct rule. Not only were a number of chiefdoms consolidated for administrative purposes (for example, Nunghu, Badi, Ugarama, and Kigoku in south-eastern Sukumaland), but in several instances royal dynasties were deposed and educated Africans from alien tribes or neighbouring Sukuma chiefdoms were brought in to govern the areas under the title of *akida*. The *akida* were directly responsible to the British administrators, and since there were few internal checks upon their activities, they were quite often autocratic and dishonest in their administration.

Although the British adopted a policy of indirect administration in the middle twenties, changes in the political system have, nevertheless, continued to take place. The operational political unit, for example, has been altered a number of times. In the tide of enthusiasm for the restoration of the political system to its 'pristine' state, many of the consolidated chiefdoms were reconstituted as relatively autonomous units in which the reigning or restored chiefs exercised legislative, executive and judicial authority for their areas. This proliferation of political authority, however, presented difficulties for the Administration because locust control, soil erosion, diseases of plants and animals and other problems could not be properly dealt with on a strictly local basis. Moreover, there simply was not the staff available to deal directly with the 60 or more chiefdoms into which the Sukuma were divided. Consequently, the Administration has dealt with the problem of proliferation in two ways. In the first place, they have returned to the practice of consolidating some of the smaller chiefdoms. The most recent instance of this took place in 1950 when the small and often intrigue-ridden chiefdoms of Beda, Nyegezi, Unyamhanda and Iwanda were amalgamated to form Bunegeji chiefdom. In this—as in other cases—the Administration took advantage of the fact that one of the chieftainships was vacant as a result of the dismissal of the reigning chief and that in two other chiefdoms elderly chiefs were eager to retire.

Following months of persuasion, the people of these three chiefdoms agreed to unite under the chieftainship of the fourth *ntemi*.

Despite consolidations, however, there are still 47 chiefdoms in the five Sukuma districts, and they range in population from the large chiefdoms of Usmao and Nera, with over 90,000 inhabitants, to the small chiefdom of Massanza II, which has only 1,500 residents. Administrators have not felt obliged to press consolidation further, however, for the problem of creating more efficient administrative units has been met in another way. Starting in Shinyanga district in 1926, the chiefs within each of the districts (or even sub-districts prior to 1950) have been joined into district federations. The chiefs, acting in unison, have passed rules and orders applicable to their respective districts, have served as district courts of appeal for cases dealing with native law and custom and have carried out supra-chiefdom programmes in other ways.

The creation of the Sukumaland Federal Council in 1947 carried the process one step further and brought all the chiefs into a common council for Sukumaland. Actually, the Federal Council had its precursor in the Federation of Iganiko, which met in Mwanza during 1932 and 1933. The latter body foundered on personal and clan jealousies, and its purpose seems not to have been clearly understood by many of the chiefs. The future of the present Federal Council is also much in doubt. It was initiated with high hopes of fostering a genuine tribal spirit among the Sukuma and was entrusted with the power of passing rules and orders for the whole of Sukumaland, levying local rates and cesses and reviewing the annual financial estimates of the various district federations. Within the past three or four years, however, most of its functions have reverted to the district councils or have been taken over by the South-East Lake County Council, a multiracial organ representative of the five Sukuma districts together with Musoma, Ukerewe and North Mara. The Federal Council remains as little more than a 'talking shop', but it is highly probable that its existence during the period since 1947 has done much to foster feelings of tribal unity among the Sukuma. For the most part, however, loyalties are still stronger at the level of the chiefdoms, which remain as very significant administrative and judical units.

Sanctions for Political Authority in Modern Sukumaland

In addition to changing the unit of administration, the very basis of the exercise of political authority has been altered under European rule. In the last analysis, it is the Governor of Tanganyika who decides whether or not a particular Sukuma shall serve as a chief, what is to be the scope of chiefly authority, and indeed whether rule by the traditional type of leader will continue or give way to some other form of government. For three decades now the British Administration has been committed to using traditional institutions in local government. It has always been understood, however, that the indigenous institutions were subject to modification or even to elimination if they were incompatible with the overall goals of the Administration. In Sukumaland this general reservation to the policy of indirect rule has been evident in practice with regard to the alteration in the traditional understanding of the use of force, of magico-religious powers and of control of wealth as sanctions for chiefly authority.

The overt use of force has undergone the greatest modification. In the first place, the ban on tribal warfare has restricted the ability of a chief to enhance his position at the expense of a neighbouring chief. Moreover, the royal guard, which the Germans had permitted to persist as a factor in maintaining internal order, disintegrated in the British period as a consequence of the abolition of slavery and the elimination of tribal tribute. Sukuma chiefs still have at their command a number of headmen, messengers and other individuals frequenting their courts who may assist them in carrying out administrative orders or enforcing judicial decrees; however, these individuals are legally required to act in accordance with the principles of British justice when incarcerating or punishing anyone. No longer are the *banang'oma* and others permitted to execute summary justice. Furthermore, crimes of a serious character (and especially those which would carry a penalty of death or long imprisonment) have been removed from the jurisdiction of the chiefs' courts.

The religious sanctions for political authority have been undercut as a consequence of Christian and Muslim teachings as well as by secular instruction regarding the real character of natural phenomena. The change is reflected in the incidence of traditional religious rites. The ceremonies connected with warfare and the birth of twins, for example, have completely disappeared. More-

over, aside from the enthronement ceremony—which had been performed in connection with the installation of all but two of 25 chiefs interviewed—the rites connected with the agricultural cycle were the only ones still observed with any degree of regularity. Of the 25 chiefs questioned, thirteen stated that they regularly observed both the planting and the harvesting ceremonies. Three more chiefs stated that they observe the rites 'on occasion'. Only nine of the chiefs (36%) indicated that they never had observed these ceremonies or that they did not intend doing so in the future.

In order to find out the reasons for the lapse of these rites, performance was correlated with the religious faith of the respective chiefs. As indicated in the Table on p. 257, thirteen of the 25 chiefs interviewed were Roman Catholic, two were Muslim, three were Protestant (one from African Inland Missions, one from the Church Missionary Society and one from the Moravian Church), and seven replied that they were pagan or had no religious beliefs. Of the nine chiefs who did not observe the rites, six were Roman Catholic, two Protestant, and one Muslim. On the other hand, those who did observe the rites included six Roman Catholics, one Protestant, seven pagans, and one Muslim. Thus, all the pagan chiefs observed the rites, whereas the Christians and Muslims were about equally divided. A number of the non-observers stated that they objected to the rites on religious grounds. Furthermore, several of the Christians who observed the rites remarked that they doubted whether people attributed any great religious significance to the ceremonies. This group stated that the people 'expected' the rites to be observed and that the planting ceremony provided them with one last session of dancing and drinking before the serious work of planting began.

Another interesting commentary is found in the correlation of performance of the rites with the educational attainment of the chiefs. Observance was greatest among the chiefs at the highest levels of education (five out of the six who had achieved Standard X or better) and at the lowest (six out of the eight who were illiterate and had less than a Standard IV education). The intermediate group (with Standards V–VIII education) were about evenly divided (six of the eleven favoured observance). It is possible that the better-educated chiefs recognized the social utility of the ceremonies as a recreational device and considered that the rites still have some significance to the pagan majority in Sukumaland. Indeed, the annual visits paid to the graves of former chiefs, the

widespread practice of witchcraft and some of the formalities which a Sukuma 'commoner' observes in the presence of his chief are signs that the belief in the efficacy of magico-religious observance has far from vanished.

Religion is still an important factor in Sukumaland in so far as the exercise of political authority is concerned. Since no Sukuma chiefdom has other than a pagan majority, the eighteen Christian and Muslim chiefs interviewed differed in religious belief from the majority of their subjects. Furthermore, exactly half of the non-pagan chiefs questioned indicated that they were not even members of the largest non-pagan group within their chiefdoms. The latter fact has given rise to controversy. Several administrators told me that the areas which exhibited the greatest opposition to the chiefs and to the various administrative rules and orders were those in which Protestant groups were strong but in which the chiefs were Roman Catholics. Religion and politics were also intertwined in Mwanza district in 1952 when two Native Authorities used their official positions to coerce their subjects—Protestant, Roman Catholic and pagan alike—into assisting with the construction of a Roman Catholic school and church.

The economic sanctions for chiefly authority have also been drastically altered as a consequence of European rule. Tribal tribute, which had been regulated by the Germans, was abolished during the first few years of British rule in Tanganyika. In place of this personal offering by a Sukuma to his chief, the Administration introduced a system of taxation and of native treasuries. Initially, the treasuries derived their main source of revenue from a rebate on the Central Government Hut and Poll Tax, but other sources of revenue have been added in recent years. The native treasury funds are used to pay the salaries of the chiefs for their services in native administration and to pay for the cost of other social services which are of benefit to the whole population.

Although tribute payments to the chief have been proscribed by the British Administration, we find that the traditional attitudes regarding the relationship between the chief and his subjects are still maintained. The chief is still expected to give, and a cow purchased with native treasury funds and distributed to workers as a token payment upon completion of a communal labour project is referred to as a 'gift from the chief'. In Maswa district when the signal to open the famine relief grain stores is given, the people say that 'the *ntemi* is distributing his grain to the people'. Finally, it

should be noted that in a number of court cases involving chiefs tribute payments which constitute illegal exactions are still made.

The abolition of tribute has de-personalized the economic ties between the chief and his people. The better-educated Sukuma seem to be keenly aware of the fact that the financial transactions of the native treasuries are under the control of district commissioners, and they therefore bypass the chiefs in making suggestions or criticisms of local government programmes. Moreover, the introduction of cotton and other cash crops has provided the Sukuma peasant with the means of improving his material well-being without being dependent upon the benevolence of a chief.

The chiefs, for their part, recognize that their salaries—which are relatively constant and which may be used entirely for the benefit of themselves and their families and personal followers—differ considerably from tribute payments. Thus they can improve their personal economic position without regard to their responsibilities to their subjects. A number of chiefs have become rather wealthy during recent years. At least twenty of the 25 chiefs interviewed stated that they supplemented their income through the sale of cotton, groundnuts, sunflower seeds and cattle, or through the renting of houses, shops and fishing nets and canoes. Over half of the chiefs questioned estimated that they had received between £100 and £500 during the years 1952 and 1953. Only seven stated that they made less than £40 a year from private sources. Unlike the average Sukuma peasant who spends the bulk of his wages on trinkets, beer and other consumer items, a number of the chiefs have made more substantial purchases. Twelve of the 25 chiefs, for example, owned either a car, a lorry or a motor-cycle; four were using their own Ferguson tractors; eleven had ploughs; three owned cream separators; only two stated that they could not afford even a bicycle, the most obvious symbol of wealth among the modern Sukuma.

The Election and Removal of Chiefs

The fact that the key sanction for political authority consists in the approval of the British administrators is evident in the manner in which chiefs are elected. Although it has been the policy of the Administration to adhere fairly closely to traditional usages in the selection of chiefs, this does not bind the hands of the local district commissioner. Royal birth does not give a right to office,

it merely establishes a claim that may or may not be recognized by the Administration. It is the recognition by the Governor, and not merely the election by traditional methods and personages, which makes of an individual Sukuma a chief.

The *banang'oma*, who figured prominently in the traditional period, have had their authority reduced to a shadow during recent years. One English-speaking chief, elected in the 1930's, stated: 'I was elected by the *banang'oma*, but the people wanted my elder brother. So the district commissioner came and arrested some of the citizens and they came to normal.' In the present decade, however, there is no disposition on the part of the administrators to defend the traditional rights of the *banang'oma*, and the only role that the latter play in the electoral process is that of nominating a candidate. This candidate, however, may be one among many who will be offered to the people for their approval or rejection.

It is readily admitted that a district commissioner may take a direct hand in the nominating and election of a chief on occasion. If it appears that one of the claimants has served a term in prison, has a notoriously bad reputation or lacks the education and training necessary for carrying out the duties of a modern chief, the commissioner will let it be known that such an individual would never secure recognition from the Governor. On the other hand, administrators have in certain instances actively championed the candidacy of an individual who appeared to be well qualified for the post. Elders and others queried on this point often stated that the peasants did not object to such administrative interference because they themselves were afraid to oppose a strong candidate openly for fear of retaliation if the man were elected.

The mechanics of selection have been divested of all magico-religious significance and have been greatly democratized. If the chiefdom is a small one, the people will converge on the chiefdom headquarters on an appointed day. There, in the presence of the district commissioner, the adults will divide and range themselves behind the candidates of their choice who have been stationed at various points in an open field. It is usually a case of the 'bandwagon' phenomenon and one candidate emerges with a majority of supporters or unanimous support. In larger chiefdoms the village and sub-chiefdom councils have been used as electoral colleges. The delegates chosen from these councils go to the district commissioner and record their choices.

The reverse side of the coin, the removal of a chief from office,

has also been altered as a consequence of European control. The removal process has been monopolized by the Administration. Were the *basumba batale* (leaders of the young men's societies) or any other group of citizens to demonstrate in front of a chief's hut and threaten him with bodily harm if he did not abdicate, such action would involve these individuals in criminal prosecution, regardless of the fact that they might have been acting in a traditional manner. Only the withdrawal of the Governor's recognition, or death, can remove an *ntemi* from office. Recently some effort has been made to broaden the mechanism for removal. For example, the district councils have been encouraged to take action in warning and fining chiefs who stray in the performance of their duties and to recommend removal of wayward chiefs. In 1952 the Sukuma Federal Council itself established a committee of enquiry to investigate charges against the chief of Tinde and made recommendations which led ultimately to his removal from office. It was the Administration, however, and not the committee or the council that removed him from office.

During 1945–53 there were nine clear-cut cases of removal, affecting seven of the 51 chiefdoms in existence during the whole or part of this period. Urima and Buyombe experienced two cases of removal each during these years. The causes for removal were various: mismanagement of the chiefdom and failure to carry out Government instructions (three); 'involved in an unsavoury affair' (one); theft of native treasury funds (two); exacting tribute from headmen and the people to finance the purchase of bicycles and new wives (two); and forgery and uttering false documents (one). In addition to removals, five chiefs were suspended for a few months, fined or received official reprimands because of inefficiency, strong suspicions of corruption, involvement in witchcraft practices or remanding women in the lock-up and concealing the fact.

Roles of the Modern Sukuma Chief

Further evidence of the supremacy of European control may be found in an examination of the altered roles of the chiefs. As has been noted above, the religious, military and economic roles of the chief have been considerably modified or eliminated during the past seven decades. The change, however, was only gradual during the German period, when usually all that was expected of a chief was that he maintain internal order, collect his taxes on

time and carry out rudimentary road construction and sanitation programmes. With the introduction of indirect administration under British rule, it was felt that the chiefs were to play an essential part in the advancement of their people. Accordingly, during the period between the two world wars, the administrators emphasized the legislative, judicial and executive roles of the chiefs.

Law-making as a formal process is actually a European innovation in Sukumaland. Under the Native Authority Ordinance of 1927 chiefs, either individually or in council with other chiefs, have been permitted to issue rules and orders for the governing of their chiefdoms. The content of this legislation is for the most part regulatory in character, being concerned with morals (gambling and drinking), threats to public order and a number of minor crimes and misdemeanours. A considerable number of the orders consist of measures designed to safeguard natural resources. The legislative role of the chief has an unreal quality: in the first place, the impetus for suggesting new rules and orders, and for seeing that they are enforced, does not usually come from the chiefs, but rather from the district commissioner and the technical officers. In the case of the cattle de-stocking programme and the cess on cotton, it seems that chiefs were practically coerced into accepting such legislation. Secondly, the substance of this legislation calls to mind Plato's *Laws*, for the orders adopted are mainly important as a means of educating the people to accept new standards of conduct and of technical performance in agriculture and animal husbandry.

The judicial role of the chief is closely related to the legislative. When a Sukuma chief is dealing with cases involving divorce, inheritance, minor theft or grazing rights, he is acting in a traditional sphere. But for the most part his judicial role is a novel one, and his court work will be concerned, not with customary law, but with the enforcement of orders on soil conservation, animal husbandry or forestry which he helped enact as a member of a council. During the period between the wars, the judicial role of the chief was regarded as the mainstay of his authority. Since then, in line with the policy in other parts of East Africa, the Administration has been attempting to separate the judicial from the chief's other roles. The separation in Sukumaland has not proceeded to the stage of having independent magistrates, as in the Chagga area; nevertheless, *wakili*, or deputy chiefs, have been appointed in all but the smallest chiefdoms and have begun to relieve the chiefs of much of their court work.

During the post-war period the Administration has increased its efforts to convert the chiefs into, first, efficient administrators, charged with the management of local programmes in education, health, agriculture, animal husbandry and other social and economic spheres and, secondly, efficient executives of popular councils that give direction to the local programmes. The administrative role of the chief is in many cases only beginning to be effective. In the field of education, for example, the content of the school curricula, the appointment of teachers and other basic considerations are in the hands of the Central Government. Nevertheless, even in this field the chiefs are playing an essential part. They locate new sites for primary schools, enforce the payment of school-fees, ensure the attendance of pupils, inspcct buildings for needed repairs, make sure that the school fields are being properly cultivated, give lectures to the pupils on civic duty, arrange for classes in adult education and co-operate with the teachers in organizing celebrations for Empire Day. A great deal of a chief's time is spent, not in direct contact with the people as a whole, but in supervising his staff of subordinate administrators and the hierarchy of councils at the village, sub-chiefdom and chiefdom levels.

Qualifications and Training of Chiefs

It is perhaps the character of the new administrative duties of the chiefs that has caused a change in the criteria of selection for candidates for chieftainships. A number of Europeans expressed the opinion that the Sukuma chiefs were old, illiterate and out of sympathy with the modern concept of local government. To counter this argument, however, one can point to a number of chiefs in Kwimba and Shinyanga districts who have been commended by the Administration for the tasks they are performing.

Age appears to be one criterion employed by the administrators in narrowing the field of prospective candidates for chieftainship. Of the seventeen chiefs elected between 1939 and 1954, only four were past 34 years of age at the time of their election and seven were less than 22 years of age. The youthful character of the chiefs is reflected in Table 1 on p. 257. In order to make way for younger candidates, at least five elderly chiefs had been induced to resign (on promise of a pension) since the conclusion of the second world war. It should be said, however, that in certain cases the Administration prefers to keep an elderly chief in office. Chief Ndalahwa of

Ndagalu, for example, has ruled since German days. He reads neither English nor Swahili, and the bulk of his court work and administrative duties are performed by a very capable *wakili*. Nevertheless, Chief Ndalahwa commands great respect from his people and is so effective in organizing them for communal labour turn-outs for road construction, dam building, and tsetse-bush clearance that the Administration prefers to keep him in office.

At the other end of the age scale, the question of electing minors to office has met with varied reactions. Realizing that intrigue is often rife during a regency, minors are frequently passed over if it is feared that the regency will last for a number of years. On the other hand, regencies have been used in both Maswa and Kwimba districts for the purpose either of postponing a contest over succession until calmer times prevail or of permitting a promising young chief to finish a course of education.

The formal education of a candidate is also a strong consideration in the selection of a chief. The educational qualifications reflected in Table 2 on p. 257 are high in comparison to the Sukuma average. Moreover, information obtained regarding twelve chiefs appointed between 1945 and 1954 indicates that seven of these had Standard VIII education or better, and only one had less than Standard V. Education alone is not an avenue to success. In one Shinyanga chiefdom in 1946 the people were called upon to decide between two candidates whose hereditary claims to office were equally valid. However, one candidate was illiterate; the other was a Makerere College graduate with a distinguished record. The people demonstrated overwhelmingly in favour of the former and the Administration accepted their verdict. As a footnote, it might be added that the winner was deposed on grounds of corruption within the same year and the loser became one of the founders of the Sukuma Union, an 'anti-chief' political association.

Previous experience of a candidate in central or local government is a further factor in the district commissioner's 'screening' of candidates. As indicated on p. 258, a number of the incumbent chiefs have had experience as deputies, sub-chiefs, headmen, policemen, tribal dressers, teachers, court clerks or natural resources instructors before being elevated to chieftainship.

Administrative interest in the qualifications of a chief does not cease with his election. In the case of a minor, for example, the Administration may actually require the young chief to complete a course of formal education or practical experience before he

assumes full responsibility for his chiefdom. Thus the minor chief of Dutwa was required to spend a year in agricultural training at Ukiriguru and three years in the police force before taking office. The young chief of Sima, in addition to acquiring a year's practical experience with the agricultural staff of the Sukumaland Development Team, was required to spend a six-months' apprenticeship at the court of one of the more experienced and respected Sukuma chiefs, gaining first-hand knowledge of court procedures, administration and other phases of local government. The latter type of training, by the way, has been used as a disciplinary measure in several instances in which young chiefs failed to measure up to the expectations of the district commissioner.

All chiefs—young and old alike—are also required to undertake short courses of a week or more at the various natural resources training schools in the Territory, where they are exposed to some of the latest developments in animal husbandry, forest culture or the mechanization of agriculture. Short field trips to other parts of Tanganyika have also been used as an educational device. In 1951, for example, a party of eight chiefs travelled to Mbulu district to observe the operation of the cattle de-stocking and development schemes in that area before such programmes were introduced into Sukumaland. Finally, it should be noted that an African Local Government training school was established at Malya in 1954 for the purpose of providing chiefs, sub-chiefs, headmen, and clerks with more detailed knowledge of law and court procedure, government accounts, problems in natural resources development and the principles of English local government.

Administrative Assistance for the Chiefs

Another approach by the British towards improving the efficiency of local government administration in Sukumaland has been that of raising the calibre of the chief's administrative assistants. The majority of these assistants, the village headmen, are traditional office-holders. Under European rule a new layer of administrative assistants, comprising the deputies and sub-chiefs, has been added to the political system. The appointment of deputies and sub-chiefs is officially the duty of the district commissioner, but in practice the wishes of the chief concerned are usually respected, unless a particular nominee has an unsavoury reputation or is

manifestly unqualified. One Kwimba chief, for example, had recommended the appointment of his personal servant as his *wakili*, or deputy. Although the creation of these offices has provided the Administration with the possibility of introducing a modified civil service, in fact appointment is usually based on family ties with the chief. Table 8 on p. 259 reveals the extent to which the deputies and sub-chiefs are members of royal clans. The deputies and sub-chiefs are less educated and experienced than the chiefs. Moreover, from 1945 to 1953 no less than sixteen sub-chiefs were dismissed from office following court cases for various offences such as theft, bribery, issuing used Hut and Poll Tax receipts, and rape. In addition, ten sub-chiefs were suspended from office, fined or received official reprimands because of inefficiency in office or on suspicion of corruption. To allay criticism of the method of appointing these administrative assistants, chiefdom and sub-chiefdom councils are being asked to approve or reject the nominee of the chief prior to the individual receiving official confirmation.

Actually, much of the success of programmes in local government depends upon the officials at the 'grass roots' end—the headmen. As one district commissioner put it: 'In the chain of responsibility for Native Administration, the headman is the most important link. For he is the chief executive of all orders. This link is, in general, very weak. The rank, though in many instances hereditary, and sought after as a matter of prestige, involves much work and small pay. As little as possible of the former, therefore, is done.'

When it comes to the enforcement of a soil-conservation order, to seeing that a new dam is constructed or to having taxes collected on time, the chief depends very heavily on his headmen (*banangwa*). Moreover, these individuals still perform many traditional duties having to do with the allocation of new land or the settlement of immigrants.

In a sample of fourteen chiefdoms and seven sub-chiefdoms involving 275 headmen, I was informed that 147 of this group were illiterate, 101 had attained a Standard I or II education, and only 27 had attained a Standard III schooling or better. Appointment to the post has dynastic attributes. In the first place, a survey of chiefdoms in Maswa, Kwimba and Shinyanga districts revealed that upwards of 90% of the headmen were members of the royal clan of their respective chiefs. Only in Geita district, where tribal membership is mixed, and in Mwanza, where the Sukuma clans are rather

thoroughly intermixed, are headmen chosen from clans other than those of the chiefs. In the second place, local dynasties are established in many areas with the post passing on from father to son. With the exception of these areas, a ruling chief will attempt to fill vacancies as they arise by appointing brothers, sons or uterine nephews to these posts. Powerful in-laws of the chief are also appointed in some cases. In Nera chiefdom, for example, the chief's brother's wife (the widow of the preceding chief) was appointed *mwanangwa* of a small village.

The calibre of the headman class and its performance in office has been of great concern to the Administration. There are only a scattering of cases dealing with the removal of headmen for corruption. There are, however, frequent recommendations that particular headmen be relieved on the grounds of inefficiency or because they are attempting to usurp authority from a weak chief. The difficulty consists in finding better individuals to occupy such posts. The low salary connected with the office makes it unattractive to the young man with a Standard IV or VIII education who can make more money as a government or commercial clerk. An attempt was made in 1949 to meet the salary problem by reducing the number of headmen from 1,200 to 820 without reducing the total amount of native treasury funds being spent on headmen's salaries. Since this step raised the average to a mere Shs. 24/– a month, it did little to improve the situation. Moreover, the headmen of consolidated areas have been hampered by the intrigues of deposed headmen, and all headmen are expected to give a portion of their salaries to the unofficial 'junior' headmen who assist them in their administration.

Restoring Internal Checks on Chiefly Authority

Although it was the intent of the advocates of indirect rule to utilize indigenous political systems as vehicles for local rule, in practice European rule in Sukumaland concentrated upon the chiefs as the most significant element in the indigenous system. This practice was justified on the grounds that the small group of British officials present in Tanganyika in the period between the two world wars was often required to act quickly in meeting the problems of famine, drought and economic depression. It was more convenient to act through the chiefs than through consulting the elders and other elements of the society. Substitution of the

salary system for tribal tribute, European control over the removal of chiefs and concentration of power in the hands of the chiefs led to the emergence of a class of autocrats in Sukumaland and other areas of Tanganyika. Nor was it possible for any European Administration to supervise sufficiently to secure such a complete change in Sukuma ideas and political practice as the changing constitution demanded.

Traditional restraints exercised by the *banang'oma*, *basumba batale*, and clan elders were either not recognized by the Native Authority Ordinance or were permitted to wither. The balancing influence of the *banang'oma* in political affairs has been reduced to one of instructing the chiefs on tribal lore and history, and their elective function has diminished to one of nominating a candidate. The *basumba batale* have also had their influence reduced. No longer may these popular economic leaders force a corrupt chief to abdicate. Moreover, communal labour projects are no longer the consequence of mutual agreement and bargaining between chief and *basumba*; rather, communal labour is an obligation imposed upon the individual Sukuma under the Native Authority Ordinance. Clan elders have also experienced a diminution of authority under British rule. Although chiefs may only hear cases in the presence of elders, the pay the elders receive is nominal and it is often inconvenient and financially difficult for these old men to leave their fields and journey to the chief's headquarters to hear cases.

With the emergence of a new type of Sukuma élite during the post-war period, there have been two diverse tendencies at work seeking to restore internal control over chiefly authority. The first tendency has arisen from the effort of British administrators to transform the authority of the chiefs and headmen into that of chiefs-in-council and headmen-in-council respectively. During the present decade a hierarchy of councils from the village up through the sub-chiefdom, chiefdom, district and federal levels has been introduced throughout Sukumaland. In each case the council consists of the chiefs, sub-chiefs or headmen directly concerned, as well as a number of 'non-royal' councillors. The councillors are of two types, elected and nominated. The former are elected initially at the village level, with each superior council in turn drawing its portion of elected members from the councils subordinate to it. The nominated councillors—who, together with the chiefs, constitute the official majority of each council—are selected

by the district commissioner in consultation with the chiefs. For the most part the nominated councillors consist of teachers, natural resources instructors, traders, wealthy cotton growers and other members of the new élite who would not ordinarily have been elected by the village councils. It was presumed that the chiefs or headmen would preside over the councils but that the former would be responsible to the latter in carrying out their duties and in formulating local policy.

The reaction of the chiefs and headmen to the council system has been varied. A number of the better-educated chiefs have taken the lead in introducing councils at all levels and in utilizing the councils as a two-way communication system: on the one hand, ascertaining the wishes of the people, and, on the other hand, keeping the people educated and informed as to government policy with respect to soil conservation, cattle de-stocking and education. Most of the chiefs interviewed on this subject seem, however, to regard the council system as a device that will eventually divest them of all authority.

The reaction of the common people is also varied. The most prominent reaction appears to be one of lethargy. The illiterate peasant fails to understand many of the goals of modern local government programmes; he feels it to be presumptuous of a 'commoner' to attempt to advise a chief or headman; or else he feels that the whole system is just another form of European madness, which will be temporary at best. Not all popular reaction has been that of lethargy, however. A number of village and chiefdom councils have taken upon themselves the task of constructing new schools and dams through communal effort without waiting until native treasury funds have been made available, and they have helped headmen distribute famine food, pass on information about new soil-conservation measures and collect taxes. Indeed, in a number of cases the councillors have had to be restrained in their enthusiasm, especially when they attempted to take over all the executive and judicial functions of the headmen and chiefs.

The second tendency at work to restore internal control over chiefly authority has come from within Sukuma society itself. I refer here to the agitation on the part of certain of the emergent élite to reconstitute the political system of Sukumaland. Sometimes these individuals use their positions as mission teachers, traders, commercial clerks or even as government employees as an opportunity for expressing political discontent to their fellows.

For the most part, however, they express themselves as leaders of popular groups. Several of these groups, such as the Sukuma Union and the local branches of the Tanganyika African National Union. are patently political in character. Others, such as the Victoria Federation of Co-operative Unions, are economic groups, which have been actively concerned with political and racial questions. In education and economic status the leaders of these popular associations are on a par with the chiefs. Moreover, a number of these popular leaders are relatives of chiefs, sub-chiefs and headmen, and a few have histories of being claimants to chieftainship.

At various times these popular leaders have expressed opposition to the cattle de-stocking programme, the cattle rate, the cess on cotton, the use of communal labour in dam construction and bush clearance, soil-conservation measures, the agricultural bias of the new middle school curriculum—in short, to the greater number of local government programmes put forth in the post-war period. They believe that if people had been allowed to elect the hereditary chiefs directly, these would have been less dependent on the district commissioner for support and hence better able to oppose unpopular Government measures. This attitude seems to favour more support for the traditional system, yet more right to control it. It is a view in any case opposed to the present dual control.

Although not all of the leaders interviewed on this point wanted to abolish the system of hereditary chiefs, there was agreement that the role of the chiefs, if they remained in office, should be reduced to a ceremonial one. It was their view that political authority should be exercised by an elected council. The head of the council should be an official elected by the people on the basis of education and experience and not of hereditary qualifications alone.

The Administration's attitude towards these popular political associations has been somewhat less than friendly. Under a combination of Central Government and African Local Government orders the majority of Government employees (who include a high proportion of the better-educated Sukuma) have not been permitted to join manifestly political associations. Following Government policy, the district commissioners have also refused to nominate individual councillors to district and other councils as representatives of popular associations; they have been nominated, rather, as qualified *individuals*, which can fairly be claimed as an

adequate compromise. Finally, in the case of the Malampaka and Mwanza branches of the Tanganyika National Union, the Administration found it necessary to disband these societies on the grounds that the character of their 'anti-chief' campaign constituted a threat to public order. Government policy, at least at the present time, is apparently determined that the system of hereditary chiefs, together with their councils, shall be the accepted vehicle for local government in Sukumaland.

NOTE ON TABLES

Terminology.

Chiefs in the Tables below are shown in the following classes:

Class	*Title*	*Title in Tanganyikan terminology.*
I	County chief.	Chief.
II	Sub-county chief.	Sub-chief.
III	Parish chief.	Parish chief.

The Sample.

The sample consists of all the Class I chiefs (25) and twelve sub-county chiefs and thirteen deputy chiefs bracketed together as Class II. There were 275 parish chiefs (Class III).

The Tables.

Percentages were worked out on the basis of Actual Totals, i.e. the number of chiefs in each class in the sample. The refusal rate was, however, low and there was little difference between Actual Totals and Totals.

In the case of Tables 4, 5 and 9 the categories are not mutually exclusive, since a man might have worked for the Central Government as well as for a mission for instance (Table 4); or as a clerk as well as a teacher (Table 5). He might also be a son of a chief as well as a brother-in-law of another chief (Table 9). Hence the figures do not necessarily total 100%.

THE SUKUMA

1. AGE

	Class of Chief			
	% of I	% of II[1]	% of III	% of all
20–30 years	24·0	36·0	ND[2]	30·0
31–40 ,,	16·0	28·0	ND	22·0
41–50 ,,	40·0	20·0	ND	30·0
51–60 ,,	12·0	12·0	ND	12·0
61–70 ,,	4·0	4·0	ND	4·0
over 70 years	4·0	0	ND	2·0
Actual Totals	25	25	—	50

2. EDUCATION

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of all
None	4·0	4·0	53·4	45·8
Primary	72·0	76·0	46·6	50·7
Secondary	16·0	20·0	0	2·7
Post–Secondary	8·0	0	0	0·6
Actual Totals	25	25	275	325

3. RELIGION

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of all
Protestant	12·0	20·0	ND	16·0
Roman Catholic	52·0	56·0	ND	54·0
Muslim	8·0	4·0	ND	6·0
Pagan	28·0	20·0	ND	24·0
Actual Totals	25	25	—	50

4. PREVIOUS EMPLOYERS

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of all
Central Govt.[3]	28·0	28·0	ND	28·0
African Local Govt.	32·0	68·0	ND	50·0
Mission	4·0	4·0	ND	4·0
Other	8·0	0	ND	4·0
Actual Totals	25	25	—	50

[1] Class II includes 12 sub-chiefs and 13 deputies.
[2] ND = No data.
[3] 'African Local Govt.' here refers to employment other than that of chief.

5. PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT *Class of Chief*

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of all
Clerk	32·0	68·0	ND	50·0
Inspector[1]	12·0	4·0	ND	8·0
Police/Army	4·0	20·0	ND	12·0
Teacher/Clergy	4·0	4·0	ND	4·0
Labourer	8·0	0	ND	4·0
Actual Totals	25	25	—	50

6. TENURE IN PRESENT POST

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of all
1–5 years	32·0	56·0	ND	44·0
6–10 "	8·0	36·0	ND	22·0
11–15 "	20·0	4·0	ND	12·0
16–20 "	12·0	4·0	ND	8·0
21–25 "	8·0	0	ND	4·0
26–30 "	16·0	0	ND	8·0
31–35 "	0	0	ND	0
over 35 years	4·0	0	ND	2
Actual Totals	25	25	—	50

7. TOTAL SERVICE AS CHIEF

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of all
1–5 years	24·0	36·0	ND	30·0
6–10 "	4·0	28·0	ND	16·0
10–15 "	16·0	16·0	ND	16·0
16–20 "	16.0	4·0	ND	10·0
21–25 "	12·0	4·0	ND	8·0
26–30 "	8·0	0	ND	4·0
31–35 "	8·0	0	ND	4·0
36–40 "	8·0	12·0	ND	10·0
over 40 years	4·0	0	ND	2·0
Actual Totals	25	25	—	50

[1] 'Inspector' refers to any supervisory work such as health, agriculture or education inspector.

8. DESCENT

	Class of Chief			
	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
Royal clan[1]	100·0	88·0	90·0[2]	90·7[2]
Commoner	0	12·0	10·0[2]	9·8[2]
Actual Totals	25	25	275	325

9. RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER CHIEFS

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of all*
Direct succession	28·0	0	ND	14·0
Son of chief	64·0	28·0	ND	48·0
Father of chief	20·0	0	ND	10·0
Brother of chief	36·0	20·0	ND	28·0
Brother-in-law of chief	0	0	ND	0
Actual Totals	25	25	—	50

Association tests.

G. M. Teoh shows that there is an association between age and direct appointment to chieftainship as against promotion from the parish level.

[1] Refers to Tusi dynasties.

[2] Approximate.

Segmentary Societies in Uganda

Chapter XI

THE GISU[1]

The Gisu live on the south and south-western slopes of Mount Elgon on the eastern border of Uganda. To the north are the Sebei, a Nilo-Hamitic people related to the Nandi; to the west a collection of different tribes known collectively as the Kedi; and to the south-east the Vugusu, or Kitosh, a tribe with which the Gisu have very close linguistic and cultural affiliations. Gisu claim that their forefathers originally lived on the summit of Mount Elgon, from which they descended as their numbers increased, and this was the view taken by Mr C. Gayer, Chairman of the 1939 Gisu Land Tenure Committee. However, such information as can be obtained about tribal movement suggests that there has been a continuous expansion round the mountain northwards into the territory of the Sebei, and the emphasis of Gisu rituals implies that millet, not plantains, was the traditional staple food of the people.[2] Bearing these things in mind, and taking into account their very close linguistic connections with the peoples of North Nyanza district of Kenya, it seems more likely that the Gisu spread out north-west from the North Nyanza area and were subsequently forced back into the hills by constant raids from pastoral peoples, first by the Masai and later by the Teso.

The country now occupied by the Gisu can be divided into two distinct zones. The first is the highland area from the 4,000 foot level to the Forest Reserve boundary at 7,000 feet. It includes the foothills of the mountain and consists of a jumble of steep hills

[1] This essay was written by J. La Fontaine from her own field material collected during 1954–6 when she was on the staff of the East African Institute of Social Research.

[2] Food and beer for rituals must be made of millet to this day.

where the soil is volcanic and very fertile and the rainfall higher than in the rest of the district (55–60 inches a year). The staple food crop here is the plantain, with finger-millet secondary. The cash crop is the Arabica variety of coffee. The population is very dense and the pressure on the land is considerable. The second zone can be called a plains region though it includes the lower foothills. It ranges from 3,000 to 4,000 feet above sea-level and its soils are less fertile and the rainfall less than in the higher area (about 40–45 inches a year). Both true millet and sorghum are grown extensively as food crops and the cash crop is an annual one, cotton. Some maize is also grown for sale. There are considerable numbers of cattle in this area, though the Gisu are an agricultural people. Some of the herds are owned by inhabitants of the hills where grazing is scarce and the animals do not thrive. The population of this lower part is much less dense, and some areas have only been settled since the European administration of Bugisu.

Bugisu as a whole is a much wealthier region than many of the surrounding ones. In the higher parts coffee brings in a large annual income to the peasants. In a random sample[1] of members of one coffee-marketing co-operative society the average income per member was £109 for the 1953–4 season, and the largest grower made £273. The price of coffee has been increasing rapidly in the last few years and the effect on the people is visibly demonstrated by the large numbers of houses with corrugated-iron sheet roofs, which have been recently built and are still going up. A man with a flourishing coffee farm has neither need nor incentive to seek paid employment and the Gisu prefer to stay on their land when possible. Cotton as a cash crop is a less spectacular source of wealth. The average taking per season is £31–100, though the largest farmer in the sample made £130, but large herds of cattle bring in a supplementary income through the sale of milk, meat and hides. Small shopkeeping and trading are popular and apparently worthwhile. The district as a whole makes an impression of prosperity; there are an increasing number of Gisu-owned cars and lorries and almost every man has a bicycle. There is a constant demand not only for clothing but for regular supplies of meat, sugar, tea and bread.

The Gisu are a Bantu people whose language has affinities with those spoken by Bantu peoples both to the east and to the west

[1] The sample consisted of one in ten of the members of the co-operative society.

as far as the Kiga on the Congo border. Their closest ties are with the Vugusu of North Nyanza in Kenya, with whom the Gisu share a mythical ancestor who lived some fourteen generations back from the present day, and whose language, Luvugusu, is mutually intelligible with the southern dialect of Lugisu. Within the Gisu tribe itself, which numbers about 250,000 adult men and women,[1] there are numerous local dialects, but these, and regional variations of custom, particularly as regards religious cults, are not diverse enough to create cleavages among a people who are acutely conscious of tribal unity and identity. In the past, however, there was no political unity, as the Gisu were organized on the basis of patrilineal descent groups, within and between which there was frequent fighting, mostly over land. Peace was enforced by the Ganda chief, Semei Kakunguru, and his followers, who were sent by the British at the beginning of this century to pacify the eastern tribes. Kakunguru eventually settled in Bugisu, where a large estate was granted him by the Crown, and his agents administered the country until 1915 when local men began to be appointed to the chieftainships. Today the Ganda agents have been completely superseded, though some of them, or their descendants, are still living in the district.

Gisu lineages are not only descent groups, they are also territorial units. Each maximal lineage, varying in size from 2,000 to 10,000 adult males, has a well-defined area, the land of its members. The boundaries are usually natural features of the landscape, streams, swamps or ridges. Each maximal lineage is internally divided into several major lineages, each with its own area, and the major lineage is divided into minor lineages. The sum of the land of the expanded minor lineages of any major lineage forms the major lineage area and the total area of all the major lineages is the maximal lineage area. The minor lineages are internally divided into minimal lineages, but these are not replicas of the higher level lineages in that they have no consolidated territory which can be readily demonstrated as minimal lineage areas. The members of the component minimal lineages of a minor lineage live scattered about the minor lineage area. Each man knows the boundaries of his own land and there is a tendency for members of the same minimal lineage to live near each other if they can, but social and

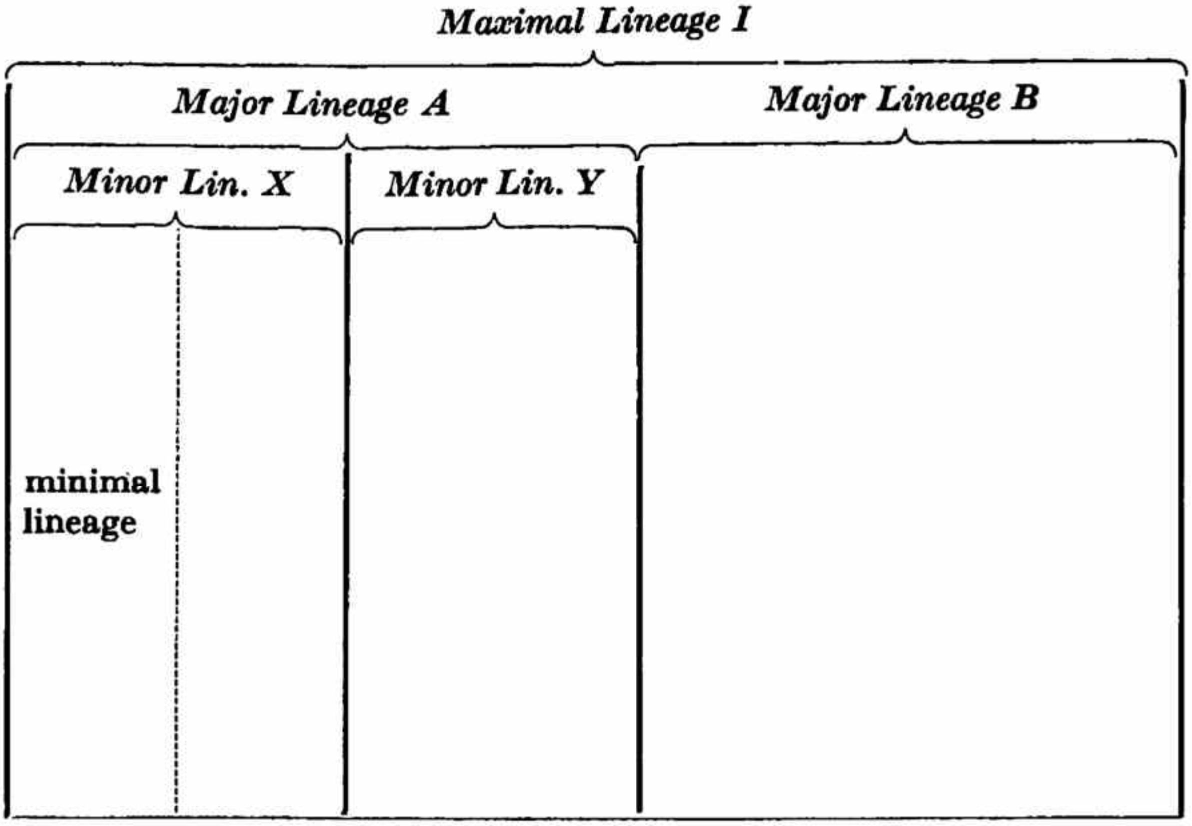
[1] *African Population of Uganda Territory: Geographical and Tribal Studies*, East African Statistical Department, 1950. 247,080, of which 27,000 live outside Bugisu, mostly in Buganda.

territorial divisions do not correspond. Lineage areas were well-defined at any particular moment in time, but before the Ganda stopped all fighting the territorial possessions of the different lineages were continually changing. Except for lineages on the edge of unoccupied land, or on land occupied by a pastoral people such as the Sebei, where peaceful penetration was possible, the only means of expansion was by fighting one's neighbour and seizing his land. Fighting usually took place between minor lineages and the winners drove out the losers, who scattered until they could gather enough strength to drive out the conquerors and re-establish possession. Occasionally a minor lineage had to leave its own land permanently, but it seems that the Gisu had not been in the present area long enough for that to result in a break-down of the corporate nature of the descent groups. These corporate rights not only exist as an ideal pattern but are exercised in actual fact. In a survey of the lineage affiliation of the inhabitants of one particular area it was found that just over 85% were living in their own minor lineage area.

This territorially-based lineage system provided the framework for the political system, but not all the descent groups were political units. The unit was the minor lineage, and above this level political co-operation was a matter of temporary alliances to settle interlineage disputes or to wage war against a common enemy. Each such political unit had its leader, known as the *mugasya*, who was chosen, in theory, from the senior primary line of the minor lineage. In fact he was sometimes chosen from another minimal lineage, but in no instance from a junior line in that lineage. He was chosen for his qualities as war-leader, arbitrator and judge as well as for his wealth. The office carried with it the right to wear certain insignia, but the holder was not invested with ritual powers by virtue of his position as *mugasya*. On the death of a *mugasya* a new one was chosen by the council of elders who had acted as advisers during the dead man's lifetime. They might, in theory, choose anyone from the correct minimal lineage whom they considered suitable, but in practice they generally chose one of the dead man's sons or brothers. The result was a virtually hereditary office, but with provision for the succession to be broken if the heir was considered unfit for the position. This method of succession was used in any situation where status and duties were involved—for example, the priest of the ancestor cult of the minor lineage was chosen in this way. Where material goods

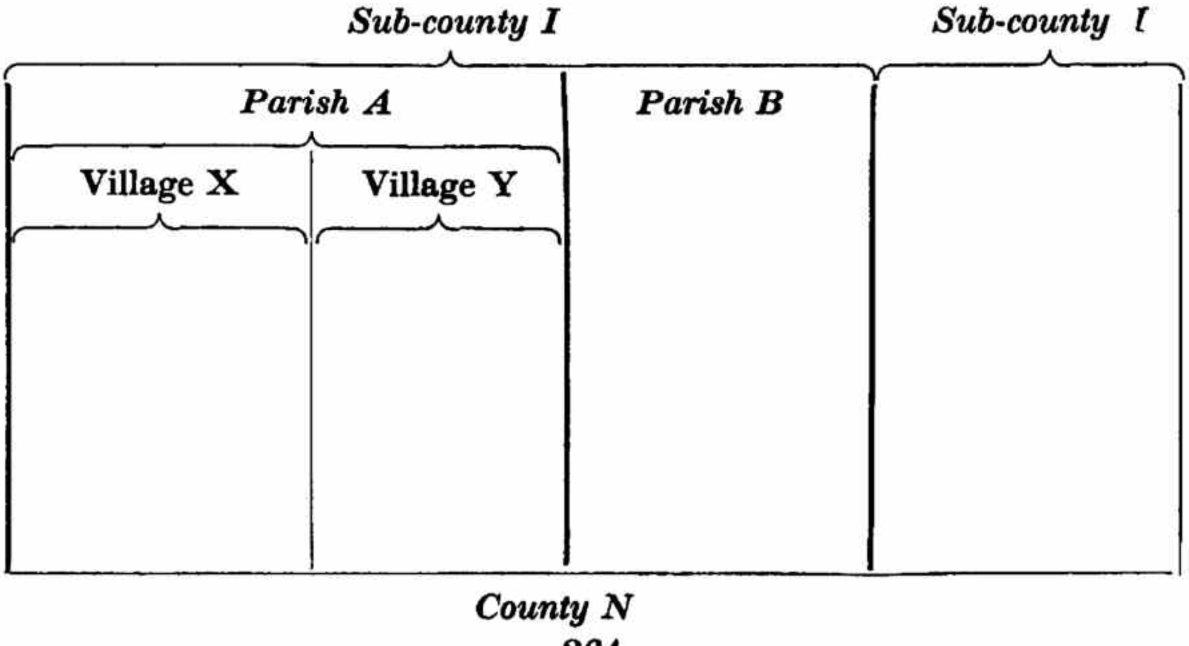
were concerned, the law of inheritance enjoined division between all the sons of the dead man, and if no son was available a brother inherited. As far as land was concerned the *mugasya* had no right of disposal over land other than his own, unlike the political leaders in some other societies in Uganda.

I *Traditional Units.*



Bold rules show territorial divisions. Dotted rule shows division of descent-groups only.

II *Present-day Units.*



The *mugasya* led his lineage to war but he also had power to stop fighting and to settle disputes. In affairs concerning members of his own lineage he was a judge and administrator of customary law; where other lineages were involved he was a representative of his lineage and negotiated with the representative *mugasya* of the other lineage. Of the *bagasya* of the minor lineages of one major lineage, the *mugasya* of the senior minor lineage was said to be *primus inter pares*, but whether he could extend his authority over the whole major lineage depended on personal influence and strength of character. He certainly had no authority over his colleagues comparable to that of a chief over his subordinates in the chieftainship hierarchy. Some of these *bagasya* did establish their influence over wide areas and were called in by lineages of other major or even maximal lineages to settle disputes, but the resulting political cohesion was temporary and unstable.

Upon this parochial system of authority, with its low level of integration, was imposed the modified Ganda system that has been used all over Uganda as the basis for local administration. In Bugisu little adjustment was necessary. Maximal lineage areas became sub-counties, major lineage areas, parishes, and minor lineage areas, villages. Where lineages were too small for them to need one chief, two or more were amalgamated. Counties were created out of the three major linguistic groups of the Gisu, crystallizing a tendency in the original system for the clans to group themselves on the basis of similarity of dialect. A chief is in charge of each division, so that there is a pyramidal hierarchy of authority. This pyramid is topped by the central administration of the African Local Government, of which the chief executive officers, secretary-general, chief judge and treasurer, work in conjunction with a standing committee of the district council, of which the county chiefs are *ex officio* members. By a 1949 Ordinance, councils at county, sub-county and parish levels were instituted to act as mouthpieces for public opinion and to provide a means of training the people in local government. The whole system is controlled by the officers of the Protectorate Government, in this case a district commissioner and two assistant district commissioners, who administer matters of Protectorate policy and supervise the working of the African Local Government. The chiefs are responsible to both the African Local Government and the Protectorate Government officials. Thus the territorial divisions of the country remain much as they traditionally were, but

they have been welded into a centralized political system which involves positions carrying authority over far wider areas than was possible in the indigenous organization.

The appointment of chiefs varies at different levels. County and sub-county chiefs are proposed by the district council. The names are then submitted to the district commissioner for his approval and then are finally sent to the provincial commissioner for confirmation. Both these types of posts are gazetted appointments. Parish chiefs are chosen from candidates selected by the county council, of which the chairman is the county chief. The names are then approved and confirmed by the standing committee of the district council. Village chiefs may be proposed by the sub-county council, which is chaired by the sub-county chief approved by the county council, and then confirmed by the standing committee. All these appointments are made by a letter of appointment signed by the secretary-general of the African Local Government, but the district commissioner has the right to veto a choice if he considers it unsuitable. Lower chiefs can be demoted or dismissed by the district commissioner, but county and sub-county chiefs can only be dismissed by the provincial commissioner after a full enquiry. In fact, these chiefs are usually persuaded to 'retire' if they become unfit for their work, unless the offence is very grave.

Chiefs should be chosen for their ability, without reference to religious or lineage affiliations, though in the case of lower chiefs it is the policy to choose a local man where possible. This policy is not always followed with regard to parish chiefs, and this always leads to difficulties over housing. County and sub-county chiefs are provided with official houses so that transfer problems do not arise and higher chiefs are frequently moved about. Both senior African Local Goverment officials and the Administration consider that the formation of too many local ties has a deleterious effect on a chief's work. Of eight sub-county chiefs in one county only one was working in his home area at the time of investigation and he has since been transferred. Two out of three parish chiefs in the sample were working in their home areas and all village chiefs were members of the lineage associated with the area they ruled. At the highest level, only one of the three county chiefs of Bugisu is working in an area of which his own maximal lineage holds a part.

The fact that parish and village chiefs are generally local men while the higher grades need not have local affiliations is one of the concomitants of the imposition of a centralized chieftainship

system on the traditional political one. The higher chiefs have no counterpart in the indigenous organization of authority, whereas their subordinates are to a large extent the successors of the *bagasya*. Parish chiefs are in an intermediate position; whether they conform to European ideals of chieftainship or to traditional expectations depends on personal qualities. The cleavage between the higher and lower chiefs is widened by this question of transference. The *mugasya* was essentially the representative of his own lineage. He did not rule, he led; and it was his duty to protect the lineage from destruction by either internal strife or external attack. This point is particularly relevant when the question of the relation of chief to the people he rules is considered, for the older notion still survives. This was made particularly clear during the discussion on the sub-county councils of the proposals to reduce the number of village chiefs in order to be able to increase their salaries. The arguments always took the form: 'Such-and-such a lineage should (or should not) lose its chief', never 'How can we rearrange the area so that fewer chiefs will be needed'. After the changes had been effected, the complaints came from people who said that they had been unfairly robbed of their chief. Pressure is being brought to bear in some areas to restore the *status quo* under the guise of claims that there is too much work for the smaller number of village chiefs. An interesting point is that this sentiment has been extended, though with less force, to the sub-county chiefs, who represent a political integration that never existed before. The principle of one descent group, one chief, now means as well one maximal lineage, one sub-county chief. In one part of Bugisu where two small maximal lineages were made into one sub-county for more efficient administration, the inhabitants of the maximal lineage area, whose name was not taken as the name of the sub-county, felt that they no longer had a figurehead to symbolize the independence of their lineage *vis-à-vis* the neighbouring lineage. They requested the district commissioner to restore their chief to them and said that they were all willing to pay Shs. 100/– a year poll tax (Shs. 40/– more than the highest grade in the graduated scale) in order to pay their chief's salary.

This extension of the sentiments surrounding the traditional role of political leader is not complete, however, since the work of a sub-county or county chief is much further from the duties of a *mugasya* than from those of a parish, and more particularly a village, chief. The sub-county chief lives in an official house, works

in an office with several clerks, and is either a stranger or frequently absent. He sits as president of the sub-county court, is the chairman of the sub-county council and is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the area under his control, but his work is one degree removed from the daily lives of the people. He is expected to go on tour as often as possible, but in a mountainous area he may not reach the outlying parts more than once or twice a year. Sub-county chiefs also sit as assessors both in the county court and in the district court and are members of county and district councils, all of which duties require their absence from the sub-county in which they work. From a diary kept by one sub-county chief it was found that at least seven days a month were spent outside the sub-county on other business, apart from leave or excursions at the weekend. The county chief is even less in contact with the people. In a whole year he may spend 30 or 40 days on tour in short periods of one or two days and cannot visit every part of the area each year. This is because he must be at the county headquarters for the county court or because he has to attend meetings of the standing committee in Mbale or sit as assessor in the district court. The higher chiefs, then, have to rely on their subordinates for information about what is going on and for the general enforcement of their orders. An attempt is being made to lighten the county chief's work by appointing judicial assistants who will take over the court work.

The lower chiefs, then, form the medium of communication between the higher officials of the African Local Government and the officers of the Protectorate Government on the one hand and the people on the other. The duties of the lower chiefs are to collect tax, maintain law and order and prosecute for any offences against Protectorate laws or African Local Government regulations. They must enforce the orders of the specialist departments of Agriculture, Veterinary work, and Health and be aware of all that is going on in their area. They also issue letters of permission for those who wish to apply to the sub-county headquarters for beer-brewing or slaughtering licences. Village chiefs sit *ex officio* on parish councils, and parish chiefs on the sub-county court. When the sub-county chief is away, one of his parish chiefs, generally the senior, acts for him and a village chief acts for the parish chief. Court attendance generally takes up two full days a week for parish chiefs. Cases that come up before the sub-county court are expected to have been brought already before a parish or lower chief, who records the

statements of both sides and writes down the names of witnesses. He may settle a case by arbitration but he has no power to hold a court or pass sentence on offenders.

These are the official duties that their superiors expect the lower chiefs to fulfil to the best of their ability, but the people demand other, and sometimes conflicting qualities. They expect their chiefs to be lavish with hospitality, meticulous in fulfilling kinship and other social obligations, not too inquisitive where minor offences are concerned nor too severe in the courts. Above all they must be loyal members of the community and not minions of the '*Guramenti*' (Government). Chiefs, they consider, cannot help but be outsiders to a certain extent, as they have to enforce rules and regulations for which the average peasant sees no necessity, but they can still be participants in village life in a way that the higher chiefs cannot. Living as they do in their own homes, they are more subject to the pressure of public opinion and tend to align themselves with their people, creating a conflict of loyalties of which the stronger may be loyalty to their fellow lineage members. On one occasion a village chief did not hesitate to lie to his sub-county chief, when I unfortunately let slip the information that there had been trouble at a certain beer-party. His first instinct was to protect those involved, who were his relatives and neighbours. Higher chiefs are not entirely free from strains inherent in the nature of their offices but the conflicts in their case are not generally of this nature.

The type of men who become chiefs can best be discovered by an investigation of the cases of a sample of chiefs whose careers and background were recorded for this purpose. Up till recently there were few openings for an educated Gisu other than teaching or becoming a chief or clerk. Now Gisu are working as carpenters and builders, medical assistants or traders. There is a Gisu agricultural officer and a doctor, while the assistant manager of the Bugisu Coffee Union is also a Gisu. These higher professions are out of the reach of most Gisu, and for the average educated young man the choice is really between a clerk's job, teaching and chieftainship, though skilled artisan work is becoming popular and trading attracts those with a flair for commerce. Some young men form associations, which they call companies, for trading. One such venture has recently (1954) been able to buy two lorries which the owners both hire out on contract and use to transport goods from Mbale.

It will be seen that the higher chiefs are drawn from the social élite. They have more education and generally come from wealthier families. The two are closely connected, because it is only the wealthier families who can afford a good education for their sons, and the increasing amount of office work that is part of a chief's duties makes it essential that chiefs should be chosen from the well-educated. Among the lower chiefs there appear to be two types: men of some education and ambition who do not want to compete in the labour market outside their homes, and older men with other sources of wealth whose object in becoming a chief is to set the seal on their social status in the community. All lower chiefs and most higher chiefs supplement their earnings by growing cash crops on their own land, but an 'independent income' is more important for lower chiefs. The pay of village or parish chiefs is very low; a parish chief starts at less than a domestic servant and cannot hope ever to earn as much as a skilled artisan or a headmaster of a village school. The prestige attached to the post is great, however, so that a wealthy peasant may find that he can afford to work for a low salary for the sake of the prestige and power he achieves. The traditional leader, the *mugasya*, was consciously chosen for his wealth. In the modern situation wealth is still a factor although the selection is unconscious, not deliberate. Wealth is no longer necessary as a qualification for leadership but it puts a man in a position where he is either better qualified for the job or more likely to want it.

The following figures are taken from career-histories of three county, 23 sub-county, fourteen parish and 29 village chiefs. The information on the lower chiefs and on nine sub-county chiefs and one county chief was obtained by interviews, the rest from personal files in the district office. For details of education, religion and kinship background and for a general picture of the relations between the different grades of chief, I shall use a vertical sample section: the county chief, all the sub-county chiefs of the county, all the parish chiefs of one sub-county and all the village chiefs of one of the parishes in the sample. For general purposes the full sample will be used.

There are no Muslims in the sample area, which is predominantly, if nominally, Christian in religious affiliation. In areas where Islam is strong there are Muslim parish and village chiefs and one sub-county chief is a Muslim. In the vertical sample section the county chief is Protestant, as are five of the sub-county chiefs, the other

three being Catholics. One parish chief is a Catholic, the other two are Protestants. This is in an area where the Catholics form about 50% of the population. Catholics complain of nepotism, but from observation it seems that Catholics in this area have more opportunities to become teachers and catechists, both posts of prestige, so that fewer of them apply for chiefs' jobs. In other areas the village chiefs are quite often pagan and illiterate, since schooling implies nominal adherence to either Christianity or Islam, as there are no undenominational Government schools in the villages.[1]

The most highly educated chief in the sample area[2] is a sub-county chief who went to school in Buganda and left after Secondary VI. One other sub-county chief has secondary education up to Secondary III. The other sub-county chiefs have had only primary education, the majority of them not beyond Primary III or IV, and one, who is reckoned both by his county chief and the Administration to be the best sub-county chief in the area, has had one year's schooling in a sub-grade school and is now virtually illiterate. The county chief left school after Secondary V and is thus better educated than all but one of his sub-county chiefs. One of the parish chiefs has had Primary III schooling, the others only enough to be just literate. The village chiefs have all had one or two years in a village school, can write their names and make out simple written instructions, but they are hardly more educated than most peasants. One type of parish chief, the young man who hopes for a higher chieftainship later, does not appear in the narrower sample.[3]

As far as previous occupations are concerned the sample does not show a wide gulf between the two main grades of chief. Of the village chiefs one was a teacher, one a trader, one a clerk. One parish chief had never worked as anything but a chief; one had been an *askari* (policeman) at the sub-county headquarters and a sub-county clerk. All three were made village chiefs before they became parish chiefs. Of the higher chiefs (nine excluding the county chief) three had worked their way up from village chieftainships, two had been teachers, two clerks and two both clerks and teachers. Only the first three have been village chiefs, the others starting as parish chiefs. This indicates that the bottom rung of the

[1] In the total sample Protestant chiefs predominate. The Muslim chiefs do not appear numerous because none of the areas where Muslims predominate was studied.

[2] The total sample shows a significant difference in the education of lower and higher chiefs: no lower chiefs have secondary education.

[3] In the wider sample of fourteen there is one young parish chief of this type.

ladder leading to the higher chieftainships does not lie in the village. This can be understood when it is realized that training in clerical work and in reading and writing quickly constitutes a necessary preparation for chieftainships. Clerks and teachers get this training in their work. The wider sample shows similar figures. Of the total of 23 sub-county and three county chiefs, only eight have started as village chiefs, but twenty have been parish chiefs. Of these twenty, eight have been clerks in the African Local Government or Protectorate Government and two have been teachers. Four sub-county chiefs have been promoted from clerks' posts in the African Local Government straight to their present positions.

Lengths of service of the different chiefs also show that village chiefs have a poor chance of reaching more than parish chieftainship. Only three of the higher chiefs have been chiefs longer than 25 years, eleven have had under fifteen years' service and two only a year's service, whereas all the parish chiefs have been chiefs for more than twenty years, one of them for more than 35 years. Two village chiefs have been chiefs for more than twenty years, six for ten to fifteen years and the others for less than ten years. Promotion would seem to come rapidly or not at all—that is, promotion beyond the rank of parish chief. The ages of the different classes of chief show this too: of parish chiefs 21·4% are over 50 and of the next higher grade, the sub-county chiefs, only 8·6% are 50 and older. Since 48·3% of the village chiefs are between 40 and 60, their chances of promotion to the higher grades are slight.

One cannot do in Bugisu what Fallers has done for Busoga, viz. place the chiefs of one county on a simple genealogical tree; nevertheless, they form a definite class of society of which the members intermarry and the sons carry on their father's work. Six of the nine sub-county chiefs in the vertical sample are the sons of chiefs or *bagasya*. Five of them have classificatory 'brothers' who are also chiefs, and the interesting point here is that only one sub-county chief has a 'brother' who is only a village chief, the others are either parish or sub-county chiefs. Two of the sub-county chiefs are close lineage brothers but the others are unrelated. This is because of the policy of continual transfer, which means that chiefs from all over Bugisu may be working in one county together and there is a constant change-over. At the time of the investigation five of nine sub-county chiefs were from other parts of Bugisu, and since the survey there have been three transfers.

The lower chiefs, being less mobile, are more closely linked to each other by ties of marriage as well as kinship. As they are all working in their native areas they are all classificatory lineage 'brothers'; in one case two chiefs are members of the same minor lineage, but no closer relationship than this was discovered. Two parish chiefs are the sons of peasants, though one has a brother who is sub-county chief, and the other is the son of a *mugasya*. One village chief is the son of a parish chief, another of a village chief and the third of a peasant. Two parish chiefs have daughters married to village chiefs in their sub-county, one of them having married his daughter to one of the village chiefs of his parish. Another village chief has married the sister of a village chief in a neighbouring area. The small proportion of lower chiefs who are the sons of chiefs in this area[1] probably comes from the fact that the comparatively new higher posts of authority have absorbed those men who would have filled the role of *mugasya*, or territorial leader. Only a few are left to take the posts of lower chiefs, whose ranks have therefore been augmented by the sons of wealthy peasants.

The method of training officials, whether for the traditional leadership of the *mugasya* or for modern chieftainship, favours this 'closed circle' type of recruitment. There was and is no formalized training for a career as *mugasya* or chief. The *mugasya*'s sons or brothers who lived in his household received a sort of training by virtue of the fact that they were present when lineage matters were being discussed and would accompany their father to settle disputes and run errands for him. They were thus in a better position to acquire the necessary knowledge of customary law and experience in organization and leadership. The sons of a *mugasya* were also more likely to have the wealth to support the position of *mugasya* since they would inherit from their father on his death. Today the training for lower chiefs is much the same. Village and parish chiefs use their young sons as scribes and messengers, giving them an intimate knowledge of the job. The elected representatives to the parish council also assist the village chief in some ways and many of them achieve village chieftainships. Among the higher grades of chief it is somewhat different. We have seen that the need for better-educated chiefs has resulted in their being drawn from the ranks of teachers and particularly from among clerks. The

[1] The total sample shows a high proportion of lower chiefs who are sons of chiefs or lineage heads.

clerks have a peculiar advantage in that they work very often in sub-county headquarters where they see all the office work that a chief must do, and some of them acquire a good knowledge of law by acting as court clerks. In general the sub-county office is taking the place of the chief's or *mugasya*'s household as a training place for future officials. There is now a course for chiefs held at Entebbe and organized by the Protectorate Government. Here promising sub-county chiefs are sent for three months, and once or twice a year there is a chiefs' conference in Mbale where Government officers talk to the chiefs about aspects of their work: but both these are mechanisms designed to improve the work of the chiefs already appointed, not to train men for chieftainship.

In Bugisu the old system has largely been preserved, although additions have been made to create the political superstructure that was lacking before. The roles of the traditional authorities are still fulfilled by the lower chiefs and little has been done to disturb lineage organization or sentiment. This is an unusual situation, for segmentary societies tend to disintegrate under European rule and the indigenous political system to be lost in the new one devised by administrators, but the convenient nature of the Gisu lineage organization kept it from having to be drastically changed. Now after 35 years the Protectorate Government are embarking on a reorganization of the system so as to put local government more in the hands of the people. This policy is embodied in the District Councils Bill of July, 1955.

NOTE ON TABLES

The Sample.

Data were obtained for a total sample of three county chiefs (Class I) and 23 sub-county chiefs (Class II), together with fourteen parish chiefs (Class III) and 29 village headmen (Class IV).

The Tables.

Percentages were worked out on the basis of Actual Totals, i.e. the number of chiefs in each class in the sample. The refusal rate was, however, low and there was little difference between Actual Totals and Totals.

In the case of Tables 4, 5 and 8 the categories are not mutually exclusive, since a man might have worked for the Central Government as well as for a mission for instance (Table 4); or as a clerk as well as a trader (Table 5). He might also be a son of a chief as well as a brother-in-law of another chief (Table 8). Hence the figures do not necessarily total 100%. Where no data are available on specific points for certain chiefs, totals also cannot reach 100%.

THE GISU

1. AGE

	Class of Chief				
	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
20–30 years	0	0	7·0	6·9	4·3
31–40 ,,	0	26·1	35·8	44·9	34·8
41–50 ,,	100·0	52·2	35·8	41·4	46·4
51–60 ,,	0	4·3	21·4	6·9	8·7
61–70 ,,	0	4·3	0	0	1·4
Actual Totals	3	23	14	29	69

2. EDUCATION

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
None	0	4·3	28·6	32·1	20·6
Primary	33·3	78·4	71·5	67·8	70·6
Secondary	66·7	17·5	0	0	8·8
Actual Totals	3	23	14	29	69

3. RELIGION

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
Protestant	100·0	74·0	57·1	72·5	71·0
Roman Catholic	0	21·8	35·8	17·2	21·8
Muslim	0	4·3	0	0	1·5
Pagan	0	0	0	10·3	4·3
Actual Totals	3	23	14	29	69

4. PREVIOUS EMPLOYERS

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
Central Govt.	33·3	4·3	21·4	10·3	11·6
African Local Govt.[1]	100·0	91·4	100·0	62·0	81·2
Mission	33·3	30·4	42·8	34·5	34·8
European/Asian	0	0	0	0	0
Self-employed[2]	0	0	14·3	13·8	8·7
Actual Totals	3	23	14	29	69

[1] 'African Local Govt.' refers to employment other than that of chief.

[2] 'Self-employed' refers to a trader or business man; peasant cultivators are excluded.

5. PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT

	Class of Chief				
	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
Clerk	66·7	39·1	35·8	20·7	31·9
Executive	0	4·3	0	0	2·9
Inspector[1]	0	0	7·1	3·4	2·9
Police/Army	0	4·3	7·1	3·4	4·3
Clergy/Teacher	33·3	30·4	42·8	34·5	34·8
Trader	0	0	0	13·8	5·8
Actual Totals	3	23	14	29	69

6. TENURE IN PRESENT POST

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
0–1 years	33·3	69·6	21·3	13·8	34·8
2–3 ,,	33·3	13·0	35·8	17·2	20·2
4–5 ,,	33·3	0	7·1	13·8	8·7
6–10 ,,	0	4·3	0	20·7	10·1
11–15 ,,	0	4·3	21·3	24·1	16·0
16–20 ,,	0	4·3	0	6·9	4·3
21–25 ,,	0	0	7·1	0	1·4
26–45 ,,	0	0	0	0	0
Actual Totals	3	23	14	29	69

7. TOTAL SERVICE AS CHIEF

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
0–5 years	0	26·1	7·1	41·4	27·6
6–10 ,,	0	21·8	7·1	31·1	21·8
11–15 ,,	0	17·4	28·6	20·7	20·2
16–20 ,,	33·3	0	21·4	3·4	7·3
21–25 ,,	33·3	21·8	7·1	0	10·1
26–30 ,,	33·3	8·7	7·1	0	5·8
31–35 ,,	0	4·3	14·2	0	4·3
36–45 ,,	0	0	7·1	3·4	2·9
Actual Totals	3	23	14	29	69

[1] Inspector refers to supervisory work, e.g. as a health, agriculture or education inspector or a foreman.

8. RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER CHIEFS *Class of Chief*

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
Son of chief	0	26·1	64·2	65·5	49·3
Brother of chief	33·3	39·1	35·8	13·8	27·3
Son-in-law	0	17·4	21·3	20·7	18·9
Brother-in-law	0	0	7·1	0	1·4
Actual Totals	3	23	14	29	69

Association tests.

G. M. Teoh tested for association between age and education, age and direct appointment to I and II level chieftainship and age and previous employment but there was no significant association at the 5% level.

Chapter XII

THE KIGA[1]

Kigezi is the most southerly district in Uganda, bounded on the west by the Belgian Congo and Lake Edward, on the south and east by Ruanda and on the north by Ankole district. Geographically the district may be visualized as a projecting finger of the Ruanda highlands, which, in the north and west, slope down into the Ankole plains. The Kigezi highlands consist of lines and knots of steep hills which are ridged and scored by countless valleys and re-entrants. The valley bottoms are lined with lakes or papyrus swamps. With the exception of the forest reserves there is no un-cleared land and all the cultivable patches, even those on the steepest slopes, are regularly cropped. Land that is resting or uncultivable is heavily grazed. Over-population and consequent over-cultivation are serious problems. The principal crops are sorghum, eleusine, beans, peas, sweet potatoes, European potatoes and a little maize. It is generally too cold for the plantain, but on the fringes of the highlands and in the plains the plantain provides the staple food and drink. The only cash crops are small quantities of tobacco, potatoes, maize and vegetables. Cattle and, secondarily, sheep and goats are the most regarded form of wealth throughout the district, but with the exception of the tsetse area near Lake Edward they are more numerous and sleeker in the plains. Most of the cash used in Kigezi is provided by the young men who go out of the district to do paid labour, and the hill-dwellers, particularly, are well known throughout Uganda for their industry and energy.

Administratively the district is divided into five counties or *saza*. These are Ruzhumbura in the north-west plains; Kinkizi in

[1] Written by P. T. W. Baxter from his own field material. He spent from November 1954 to March 1956 in Kigezi district studying the Kiga. His appointment to a research fellowship was made possible by a grant from the Colonial Social Science Research Council.

the west consisting of part plains and part highlands; and the three predominantly highland counties of Bufumbira in the south-west, Ndorwa in the east and Rukiga[1] in the centre. Ndorwa is the equivalent of two counties in population and is scheduled to be split into two separate counties.

Population

The Kiga are the largest single tribal group in the district and by both tradition and preference they inhabit the mountain areas of Ndorwa, Rukiga and Kinkizi, but the land shortage in the highlands has forced many thousands to resettle in the plains of Kinkizi and Ruzhumbura counties and in Ankole district. The greatest part of the population of Bufumbira county consists of Ruanda, who before the coming of the Europeans were subjects of the king of Ruanda.[2] The Ruanda proper distinguish two endogamous castes, Tusi, who were the traditional pastoral Hamitic overlords, and Hutu, the Bantu client cultivators. Maquet estimates that in Ruanda genuine Hutu outnumber Tusi in the proportion 8:1·5. I should say that in Kigezi Tusi are more heavily outnumbered. Between 1920 and 1948 many Hutu moved and settled among the Kiga and are now to be found in all parts of Kiga country living either in single homesteads or in groups of homesteads. Hutu and Kiga intermarry freely, but the latter tend to look down upon the former, because they are generally poorer and because they accepted client status under the Tusi, while most of the Kiga managed to avoid this.

The county of Ruzhumbura and part of Kinkizi correspond to the old kingdom of Mpororo, which was a smaller scale copy of the kingdom of Ankole.[3] At the time of the survey the county chieftainship of Ruzhumbura had remained continually within the royal lineage. The population, corporately known as Hororo, consists of

[1] Rukiga is the name of a county, the name of the language of the Kiga, and also the name of the land which Kiga traditionally occupy. For convenience, Rukiga is used here for the name of the county, Ru-Kiga for the language, and Bukiga for the land of the Kiga. Kigezi has no linguistic connection with Kiga; it is the name of a small lake, now dried up, in Bufumbira county, near to which the first administrative post was set up, and from which the district took its name.

[2] See 'The Kingdom of Ruanda' by J. Maquet in *African Worlds*, ed. Daryll Forde, 1954, pp. 164–89.

[3] See 'The Kingdom of Ankole in Uganda' by K. Oberg in *African Political Systems*, ed. M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 121–64, and the chapter on Ankole in this book.

pastoral Hima and cultivating Iru, and these groups correspond to the Tusi and the Hutu of Ruanda.

According to the 1948 Census,[1] the total population of the district was 395,529, of which 63% were Kiga, 24% Ruanda and 11% Hororo. I presume the missing 2% was made up of the Hunde, Tumbi and Twa and aliens who live in various small communities among the Ruanda and Hororo. The population of the district is increasing, particularly that of the Kiga, and in 1954 the official estimate was between 460,000 and 470,000.[2]

The three principal tribal groups speak related languages and an intelligent member of either can, with a little trouble, understand and make himself understood anywhere in the district. At district council meetings there are seldom any linguistic misunderstandings.

Indigenous Political Organization and Modern Adjustments

Ruanda

The traditional political organization of the kingdom of Ruanda has been analysed by J. Maquet. The Ruanda of Kigezi were integrated into this polity before they were brought under British rule and isolated from the rest of the kingdom. Here there is only space to give the baldest summary of their social organization. Ruanda society was stratified into three endogamous castes, which are considered also to be ethnically distinct. Political power and wealth, particularly in the form of cattle, were entirely in the hands of the Tusi. The Hutu were the humble and industrious clients of the Tusi. The lowest caste, the Twa pygmoids, lived mostly in the forests as hunters and were regarded as sub-human buffoons by both the other castes. There are very few Twa in Kigezi and they have no political significance.

Maquet writes: 'The theme of inequality was embodied in the indigenous political organization . . . Tusi are considered fundamentally superior to Hutu.'[3] Hutu could only aspire to security, the respect of their fellows and the favour of their lord, never to political power or influence. Within the Tusi caste, political rank and influence were determined by birth, wealth and military prowess. The loyalty of the Ruanda was directed to their king, who could do no wrong and who was mystically associated with the

[1] *African Population of Uganda Territory: Geographical and Tribal Studies*, East African Statistical Department, 1950.

[2] District commissioner's estimate.

[3] J. Maquet, op. cit., p. 186.

concept of Ruanda itself. He was above all criticism, although it was admitted that he could be badly advised by counsellors who could be, and were, criticized.

Hororo

The kingdom of Mpororo was a small-scale version of the kingdom of Ankole, the political organization of which has been described by Oberg. The royal family of Hororo was Shambo and that of Ankole belonged to a Hinda clan. Mpororo had, at one time, been subject to Ankole, but at the time of the British occupation was an independent ally of Ankole and a buffer state between it and hostile Ruanda. Like Ruanda, however, it was a caste society, consisting of the cow-owning Hamitic Hima and their Bantu peasant clients, the Iru. The latter rendered tribute to the Hima of beer, millet and labour and were forbidden to own cows that were still bearing. Like the Hutu the Iru recognized their subordination to the martial cattle-owning lords and through them expressed their fealty to the king.

Kiga[1]

The Kiga are Bantu agriculturalists and culturally very similar to the Hutu and the Iru. Lineages of the same clans are found in all three groups. In some circumstances the Kiga will maintain that Mweiru, the original ancestor of the Iru, was their own founding ancestor. There are even among them representatives of the Hinda clan, who state that they are descendants of Hima who lost their cattle several generations ago. The proud boast of the Kiga is that they were never, as a people, subjugated by either Tusi or Hima. On the marches groups certainly came under the temporary domination of one or the other group and, at the turn of this century, many from the Ikumba area fled before Rwabugire, king of Ruanda, and his terrifying Twa bowmen, and took refuge, as clients, with the king of Mpororo. But, Kiga assert, such clientship was only temporarily accepted while they were unable to resist, and as soon as ever they were able, they threw off the yoke. Today on the Congo side many Kiga are ruled by Tusi chiefs, as they were when the Belgians first came, but they resent their political inferiority. One of the present objections of the Kiga from the

[1] The author acknowledges with gratitude the loan of a typescript by M. M. Edel since published under the title *The Chiga of Western Uganda*, 1957.

heavily over-populated parts of Kigezi to being resettled in Ankole district is that they might be liable to come under the rule of the proud Hima chiefs, 'who will not listen to us'. The belief that there is an essential inequality between Hima and non-Hima, Tusi and non-Tusi, has never been accepted by the Kiga. The Kiga may be described as Bantu people of the Interlacustrine area, who were never subordinated by Hamitic invaders and who preserved the right to keep and breed their own cattle.

In 1920, a district commissioner described the Kiga as 'being generally hostile even to their near neighbours, each hill being a clan unit'. This was, and is, a fair summary of Kiga attitudes and territorial organization. They are divided into about 30 exogamous clans, each segmented into a number of lineages of varying depth. The unit of local residence is usually a maximal lineage consisting of between 100 and 1,000 adult males and occupying between one and twenty square miles of territory. Lineages of the same clan are often widely dispersed over different parts of Bukiga. Although these lineages vary so considerably in size, number of segments and territorial spread, they are all similarly structured. The clans themselves fall into named groups, the name being taken from a common putative ancestor, but an ancestor so distant that the relationship is not considered sufficiently close to require more than a sentimental recognition. Many men do not know to which other clans their own is related. Clansmen are meant to help each other and, against non-clansmen, they do so: but this help is rarely asked outside the lineage groups within which kinship is actively remembered, that is, three to four generations, since any man will have a large number of neighbouring kinsmen within this group on whom he may readily call for assistance.

The history of lineages reveals a constant process of fission, usually correlated with migration. This occurs every three or four generations in those lineages which have had high reproduction and survival rates. Some lineages have remained almost static in population over the last six generations. They have not split into named segments and have remained upon their ancestral land. Some lineages have actually been wiped out and have disappeared, except in old men's memories, and their existence was only unearthed by myself when investigating genealogies. In almost every case the point of fission has been a woman, since the descendants of different wives of the same man tend to separate from each other. If mutual feelings were kindly, the move was only to a nearby

knoll and was therefore merely an assertion of separateness and independence. If mutual feelings were antipathetic, the move was to another hill some miles distant from the first, but preferably near to another lineage of the clan that had itself hived off at some previous date. If there was no such lineage with vacant cultivable land near it, then the move would be made to the neighbourhood of a clan with which strong affinal links had developed. Such linkages are a feature of Kiga social organization, for, if their wives have been good to them, men like in turn to take wives from that clan for their sons. This process of fission accompanied by migration of segments, has been a constant feature of the expansion of Bukiga as the population has increased. But this was not an isolated process; it was accompanied by another which parallelled it. I have no record of migration to a distance by a segment where there has not also been an accompanying pressure on the land. Segmental relations were unlikely to become gravely exacerbated except in conditions of land shortage, which were associated with accusations of witchcraft among the women, or quarrels and fights among the men over cultivating rights in different fields. On some occasions, however, this hostility might be externally directed and the locally resident members of a clan might join together to evict from a neighbouring area members of another clan. For example, about 90 years ago the Ikumba amphitheatre enclosed the land of four clans, and now it is mostly farmed by one, the Himba. Another process that led to the dispersion of segments was the raids of the king of Ruanda and his allies. For instance, most of the Himba clan who fled to Mpororo in order to escape from Rwabugire later returned, but one lineage, the Sita, remained there. Within the clan it is considered that differences should be settled by compromise and agreement and not by force. I have no record of a feud continuously maintained between lineages that shared a common ancestor within a genealogical depth of ten generations, though within that depth I have records of temporary outbreaks of violence, which were later settled by the payment of compensation.

Kiga think in terms of the size of a lineage as well as in terms of its endurance in time: 'The X's became many and so did we, therefore we may now marry each other.' At the present time there are lineages about to become separate clans which may thenceforth intermarry. Exogamy and overt recognition of hostility are not always exactly coterminous, but both have a similar range.

Within the hill or valley area occupied by a maximal lineage there was no institutionalized political authority. On the Ruanda marches, as in Bukimbiri (a sub-county named after its dominant clan, which, though in Bufumbira county, has a predominately Kiga population), there is talk of past lineage meetings and the election of lineage heads. If there was such an organization it was certainly embryonic, because there is no other trace of it left today. It may have been a temporary organization which arose in response to the demands of the Tusi. Within a lineage area individual family heads who combined wealth with wisdom could become respected leaders of opinion, both political and legal, but they had no formally recognized authority. There were also men who obtained authority within limited spheres, as for example, rain-making and war, but such authority was not institutionalized and did not survive a man's period of active success within that sphere. Outside the clan there was no political authority, though there were rudimentary mechanisms for settling clan disputes, as, for example, by the intervention of the elders of a neutral clan with which one of the disputing sides had a joking relationship. Almost every old man I met had taken part, in his youth, in a raid against a neighbouring clan and had himself been raided. Many bore scars to prove it.

When threatened by an alien power, a temporary defensive clan-grouping (alliance would be too strong a word) might occur. For example, when attacked by the famous Rwabugire, whom we have previously mentioned, the Himba of Ikumba and the Sigi of the shores of Lake Bunyonyi ceased their own squabbles and fought side by side; but, on the other hand, the Kongwe of the northern end of the lake allied themselves to Rwabugire in order to attack the Himba, from whom they were only separated by a few miles of empty bush. (Just prior to the coming of the British a spirit-possession cult, which might have contained the seeds of a larger scale political organization, was breaking out all over the district. This will be referred to again.)

Kiga prefer to build their homesteads a little above the swamp line where the land is well drained but still near to water and, ideally, upon a knoll or ridge which has sufficient land around it to allow each wife large home fields. On the death of an elderly or respected head of a compound his sons are expected to leave the old site and move a short distance away so that they, and their mothers, may not be constantly reminded of their grief. This

occasion is often used by brothers who aspire to becoming homestead heads in their own right as an opportunity to build separately, though often only a few yards away. The reasons always given for this type of move are either that there was not room to fit in all the huts around the edge of the elder brother's compound, or that the wives of the compound quarrelled and that therefore the split was made for the sake of domestic quiet. The break-up is always stated by both brothers to be an unfortunate and regretted necessity. Kiga put great value on the expression of sibling solidarity.

In these conditions the compounds of all the married agnates of a lineage of a depth of up to three generations were, and are, laid out near to each other. Thus where there is a group of rich, prolific and elderly polygynous brothers and their married sons living close to one another, their homesteads look like a village of some 30 to 40 huts. Compounds may contain from one to ten huts, with an average of four.

In theory, the father or eldest male sibling has authority over all his juniors; in fact there is considerable variation in the degree of control which he is able to exercise.

The History of Chieftainship under British Rule

Kigezi was occupied by the British in 1909–10 to prevent either the Belgians or the Germans from acquiring it first. Until 1913 the civil administration was left to Ganda agents, but in that year a district commissioner was appointed and the district headquarters were moved to their present site. Since that time there has been a progressive increase in the number of government officials, both native and expatriate, administrative and specialist. From the first, Government has endeavoured to create a centralized district administration as opposed to three separate tribal administrations. They have sought to do this by building up a system of chiefdoms arranged hierarchically, each administered by appointed chiefs of various grades. The whole was modelled, even to nomenclature, on that of Buganda, or rather on those parts of the Ganda system that were administratively obvious, orderly in their functioning and neat in appearance. Within the system the district commissioner stood at the peak, supported in order by chiefs of counties (*saza*), sub-counties (*gombolola*), parishes (*miruka*) and sub-parishes (*bakungu* or *batongole*). All but the last rank have been salaried government servants almost from the beginning of the Administration,

and for many years even the *bakungu* have received a small salary. This system was designed as an efficient method of administering the people, enforcing the rule of law, collecting taxes and materially improving living conditions as, for example, by developing communications and enforcing health regulations. In this it has been remarkably effective. Although there was always the right of appeal on any matter to higher authority, and ultimately to the district commissioner and the Protectorate Government, it was not intended to be a system of democratic government. It is clear from the earlier district reports that the ideal aimed at was an efficient administration run by honest chiefs who had the interests of their people at heart. Where the institution of chieftainship did not exist, as among the Kiga, it was decided to establish it. By the end of the second world war this ideal was to a large extent accepted, by Kiga people and chiefs, even in areas where individual chiefs deviated flagrantly from the ideal. During the last ten years there has been a constant attempt by the Protectorate Government to make the system more democratic. Nevertheless, the people themselves still hold to the previously inculcated ideal of an authoritarian chief, and most democratic innovations, such as elected councillors, are interpreted either as checks on a chief who does not act according to the ideal or as an extension of 'chieftainship' to other agencies.

Government on its arrival in Kigezi found that the Kiga had 'very little regard for human life',[1] and no local men of importance whose social horizon was larger than that of their own neighbourhood. In the non-Kiga areas it found no chiefs who were energetically co-operative. Kigezi was divided into four counties and a number of sub-counties, each with a Ganda agent as its effective head. The administrative units were less in number than nowadays; for example, the approximate area of the present counties of Rukiga and Ndorwa, which now contain seventeen sub-counties, covered one county of five sub-counties. The Ganda agents selected parish chiefs from among the indigenes of their sub-counties to assist them. Two at least of these were still very hale and hearty in 1956. It was intended that the agents should depart when they had trained up their local assistants, but this departure was delayed for three main reasons: first, many Tusi actively backed their king, who had declared for his German masters, and for a time the district came under the military control of the Belgians. Second,

[1] District Report, 1917–18.

after the war more detailed administration demanded the continued presence of Ganda clerks and agents because few indigenes showed interest in aspiring to the requisite standards. The most important reason however was the last, that is a series of violent outbreaks of the Nyabingi cult.

The Nyabingi spirit-possession cult had originated in Ruanda in the previous century. It was opposed by the Tusi, and many of its priests were driven out of the country. After the great famine, known as 'Rwaranda', in the early years of the present century its influence spread rapidly, and though most of the priests and priestesses continued to be Ruanda, the bulk of the Kiga came to acknowledge its various manifestations. Though many of the priests, and therefore the manifestations of the spirit, became associated with particular clans, they could never become tied to particular clans. Indeed the more important priests and priestesses, such as Mamusa and Kaigirwa, had followers from many clans and from over a wide area. On at least two occasions the Ganda agents got the local priests on their side by making them parish chiefs, but in general the cult was as bitterly opposed by the Ganda agents as it had been by the Tusi chiefs. Because its priests demanded tribute, women, and obedience from their followers, the cult threatened all established authority, both traditional and governmental. The repression of the cult by the agents and the district commissioner resulted in its becoming the crystallizing point for all opposition to the Government. Many people were killed or exiled during the several outbreaks between 1910 and 1920 but, as a political threat, mention of it diminishes during the twenties, except for the last big outbreak in 1928, and it is not mentioned as a menace in district reports after 1931. The cult still exists, although its practice is illegal; but none of the priests with whom I was acquainted had a more than local following and this only in respect of their spiritual or curative powers or as respected representatives of an older culture.

The permanent effect of the cult, from the point of view of the present enquiry, may be said to be the influence it had in strengthening the arbitrary powers of chiefs, who during the troublous times were perforce allowed powers which in peaceful times they would not have been conceded. For example, one old Kiga, when explaining to me the origin of his various spear wounds, showed me one that had been inflicted because he had not stood up quickly enough when a Ganda agent passed by. The event, even nearly 40 years afterwards, did not strike him as in any way untoward or

as behaviour that should not have been expected from a chief. The continued presence of the Ganda also accustomed district commissioners to expect a standard of efficiency and assertion in chiefs which they probably could not have hoped for had they had to start with locally recruited officials. The agents, moreover, were officials of the Protectorate Government, employed to do a job, and, if they failed to do it, they were either dismissed or transferred. Their first loyalty was to the district commissioner, on whom they depended for continuance in office and for promotion. Administrative efficiency, energy and adaptability were the criteria by which they were judged. Further, work as a chief has always been the best paid job with the most prestige in the district, so that Government has been able to select from the best talent in the country. Higher chiefs have usually been more progressive in thought and action than their people. Even on the most recently elected district council the level of education of the chiefs is, on average, higher than that of the elected members.

One result of the actions taken against Nyabingi was that any objects used in ancestor worship, the traditional spirit-cult, magic, witchcraft or medicine came under suspicion as being part of the paraphernalia of Nyabingi and were destroyed at sight by the chiefs. This has meant that all traditional practices which relate to the supernatural world are felt, by Kiga, to share equally in Government's disapproval.

The first indigenous sub-county chief was appointed in 1922, five years before the first Kiga boy was to enter a secondary school. The appointment of local chiefs increased rapidly. In 1930 the first three indigenous and fully responsible county chiefs were appointed, and one of them is still alive, though in retirement. After this date the names of some of the present higher chiefs begin to appear regularly in district reports as local chiefs who have distinguished themselves.

From the early days there had been a central native council consisting of a majority of chiefs and some nominated members; in 1945 this was reconstituted so that it no longer contained a majority of chiefs. In the same year, parish councils were created, with selected members. They were seen as 'bridging the gap between executive authority (in the form of *gombolola* chiefs and their associates) and the ordinary peasant', and 'as a check on the behaviour of minor chiefs'.[1] In the following year parish councils

[1] District Report, 1945.

were empowered to suggest the names of their chiefs, the final decision being left to the county councils, which themselves had been properly constituted in that year. Since this time there has been a constant increase in the responsibilities entrusted to councils of all levels, but, until the time of the survey and the introduction of the new regulations of 1956, it would be true to say that all councils were dominated by their chiefs, partly by virtue of the latter's personalities and experience, and partly because the executive powers of a chief were so considerable that they could make day-to-day life unpleasant for those who consistently opposed them. There are many agricultural and sanitary regulations, and it is easy to find evidence of infringement of these in any homestead or farm in the district.

Since the introduction of the 1956 regulations, chiefs have been in a minority on all councils, but it is too early as yet to say what effects this will have on chieftainship. It is, however, a tribute to their training that almost all the county and sub-county chiefs, who disapproved of the new regulations and saw that they could only result in a diminishment of their powers, conscientiously explained the elections to their people and saw them fairly carried out.

The Duties of Chiefs

Chiefs, in their various capacities, are judges, legislators and executives. Now that specialist services are being created, one of the problems in Kigezi, as in other districts, is to separate these functions without destroying the effectiveness of the present system. A hierarchy of courts and councils parallels that of the chiefdoms. The chief of a unit at any level is *ex-officio* chairman of both within his unit, and a member of the next highest council. Lower grade courts can impose no penal sanctions and have no clerks or police. Lower grade councils are advisory; they control no funds or staff and cannot initiate anything without the consent of a higher council. One of their principal functions is to elect representatives to the next highest council and to send motions up to that level. Both courts and councils meet informally as business or cases arise. Sub-county courts are gazetted, meet once or twice a week on fixed days and are empowered to fine and imprison. County courts meet at intervals to deal with cases sent up from the lower courts. County and sub-county chiefs spend from 50 to 100 days a year on court and council work.

Sub-parish chiefs are responsible for seeing that members of their sub-parish pay their taxes, register births, marriages and deaths, obey the veterinary, agricultural and sanitary regulations, perform their communal labour, maintain their famine reserves and carry out similar statutory obligations. They do this by exhortation and, if that fails, by prosecution. In this they have to achieve a nice balance between not incurring the hatred of their neighbours by excessive keenness and not losing their jobs by incurring the wrath of their superiors. They are also expected to encourage all general progress beyond that which the law enforces, by precept and example.

Senior chiefs duplicate these functions in a progressively more diffuse manner and supervise the work of all their underlings. Upper grade chiefs are also responsible for the buildings, lock-ups, clerks, police, cash and materials under their charge.

As a very rough generalization one can say that to be a county chief is a full-time job by any standards, and that to discharge conscientiously the duties of a sub-county chief takes five days' work a week, and of a lower grade chief four days a week, although some admittedly manage on less.

A Note on the Classification of the Chiefs in the following Tables and on the Representative Nature of the Sample

There are a few chiefs and officials classed as chiefs who do not fit exactly into the four grades described below. For the purposes of this analysis the secretary-general to the African Local Government has been classified as a county chief, and the assistant secretary-general and the assistant county chief, Ndorwa, have been classified as sub-county chiefs, though in rank, salary and prestige they are a little higher than those classes. The district labour inspector and the district treasurer, though they are both classed and paid as *saza* (county) chiefs and are *ex-officio* members of the district council were deliberately excluded from the survey because they are both specialist officials rather than chiefs. Neither of the present incumbents of those posts has ever served as an administrative chief. The post of chief judge had not been filled at the time the investigation was being carried out.

As a representative total sample this survey has two main deficiencies. These arise from the manner in which it was carried out; that is to say, it was not undertaken as a main project but as

one ancillary to a general study of the social organization of the Kiga. I interviewed chiefs where and when I was able, either at courts and councils or as chance meetings allowed. None of this data has been taken off files and all has been double-checked. In this way I was able to obtain complete information about five of the six county chiefs and twenty of the 35 sub-county chiefs, as well as partial information about all of them. There were just over 150 parish chiefs in the district at the time of the survey and approximately double that number of sub-parish chiefs; I only obtained full information for about 53 of the former group and 68 of the latter. This lack of proportion, however, is not so important for analytic purposes as it might seem at first sight, because all the samples are large, and there is a gap between parish and sub-county chiefs which clearly divides them into two strata, the lower and higher chiefs.

The sample is not representative geographically, particularly for the lower chiefs, the majority of whom work in Ndorwa county. This is not likely to bias such Tables as 'Previous Occupation' or 'Education' but may have given unrepresentative data for the 'Relationship to other chiefs' Table. Table I also shows some bias, because all parts of Kigezi district are not represented.

I preserved and have sometimes used data on chiefs about whom I had not obtained complete data, but only the complete sample is used for general considerations of comparative interest. The type of information which is being used will be clear from the context. The Tables numbered with Arabic numerals, and to be found at the end of the chapter, refer only to chiefs for whom complete data were collected, those numbered with Roman numerals to the wider sample.

Table I

Chiefs in Kigezi showing tribal affiliations (Total)

	Class I	*Class II*	*Class III*	*Class IV*	Totals
Kiga	3	20	66	94	183
Hutu	1	4	5	6	16
Tusi	0	4	3	2	9
Iru	1	3	3	0	7
Hima	1	4	0	0	5
Totals	6	35	77	102	220

The position of Hima and Tusi in the Present-day Administrative Organization

In the introductory part of this paper the previous political dominance of the Hima and Tusi in certain areas was stressed. It is interesting to see how far this dominance has been perpetuated under the modern bureaucratic system. Unfortunately my figures for lower chiefs from the two relevant counties are neither representative enough nor sufficient to make it possible to draw conclusions. A tour taken through these two counties after this survey was closed gave me the impression that many lower chiefs in those counties were either Hima or Tusi. Superficially it would appear that the Hima have maintained their position well in Ruzhumbura, where they hold four out of the seven chiefdoms, and that the Tusi have done badly in Bufumbira where they hold only one out of six chiefdoms. But this is not a complete picture, for one Hima and three Tusi were serving as chiefs outside those counties. One of these was in fact serving in his natal area in Rukiga, in which there is a Tusi colony. These two castes cannot make up more than 10% of the Hororo and Ruanda, who together only make up 35% of the total population of the district, i.e. they cannot be more than 3·5% of the total district population. Yet, as is seen from Table I, they make up 22% of the total higher chiefs. This means that, though they have lost their absolute dominance in their own areas, they nevertheless hold many more chiefdoms in the district than their numbers alone would justify. Only one of the 35 directly elected representatives from the sub-counties to the district council (a Tusi) was of either of the two higher castes. Incidentally, Kiga hold only 56% of the total number of higher chieftainships, though they make up 63% of the total population, which suggests that they share in the deprivation of office with the Hutu and Iru.

It might be thought that these upper-caste chiefs were old men, relics of a past system, merely waiting for their retirement, but this is not so. Six of the nine Hima and Tusi chiefs were under 40, that is to say, more than half the higher chiefs under 40. Nor is it a matter of straightforward succession or, alternatively, nepotism, even though the county chief of Ruzhumbura is in the direct line of succession for several generations and one of the sub-county chiefs is his brother. There are other similar examples of close relationship, but they are not restricted to the upper-caste groups, and the reason for their existence will be

explained below. For many years, as we have stated, Government was not interested in creating a democracy in Kigezi and had difficulty in finding chiefs not only competent, but willing, to take responsible posts. It might be thought that these facts, combined with the supposed leanings of district commissioners towards a traditional aristocracy which specialized in charm and good manners, would have led early administrators to favour upper-caste chiefs. This may have been so, but I was unable to obtain sufficient evidence about early chiefs to test the supposition. I doubt it, however, because early district reports contain references to the indolence and arrogance of certain upper-caste chiefs and mention constant endeavours to find responsible lower-caste men to replace them. In fact it seems that for many years there was a constant diminishing of the powers and numbers of the upper-caste chiefs. But, I repeat, this is only an impression. Certainly, however, in Bufumbira a Hutu county chief was appointed as early as 1929. Before the introduction of lower councils that had a voice in the appointment of chiefs, it is probable, of course, that high-caste higher chiefs endeavoured to place members of their own group in lower chieftainships, which were in most respects within their gift.

None of these lines of reasoning, however, explain the present quantity of young upper-caste higher chiefs who have obtained and held their posts in the face of strong competition. While it is true to say that there is always an administrative shortage of first-rate chiefs, there has for long been a pool of adequate second-raters. They do, however, suggest one of the reasons that has contributed to higher-caste success as chiefs. Whenever I asked an individual his tribe, a Hutu always answered Ruanda and an Iru always answered Hororo, and indeed, if pressed for a closer definition, some younger men would only mutter, 'Now we are all the same.' Hima and Tusi always responded by whichever name was appropriate. Members of the higher castes have great pride in their group membership and ancestry. However much the sense of their inherent inferiority has weakened among the lower castes, the higher castes are still quietly, but unshakeably, certain of their own superiority; they have merely learnt to exhibit it a little less obtrusively. They do not expect popularity and are therefore not dismayed by unpopularity. This attitude obviously is of assistance, all other things being equal, to a chief who has to enforce unpopular laws, such as those controlling land usage and domestic cleanliness.

During the last ten years, most higher chiefs have been expected to possess a reasonable degree of literacy and some English and only three upper chiefs appointed during this period have had no English. In this respect, upper-caste representatives have had an advantage. Firstly, because they were wealthy they were able to afford school fees and were better able to employ herdsmen to replace the labour lost when their children went to school. Secondly, when the missions first came, the Tusi appeared to be not only people of great charm of manner but also men who had political importance in the traditional systems. They therefore received more than their share of mission encouragement to send their children to school. A small group of wealthy and either enlightened, or much badgered, fathers have retained for their offspring a variant form of the political dominance which traditionally they could have hoped to inherit. Nepotism, without education, could not, in the face of the Government's democratization policy, have continued to secure this.

The Bureaucratic Nature of the Chieftainship System

It has been stated that the chieftainship system in Kigezi has been organized on bureaucratic principles, in that chiefs were Government officials and that they achieved promotion by seniority and merit. We shall now examine these statements in the light of the information gathered during the survey.

Table II shows how far chiefs are natives of the units of which they were chiefs. In every grade but that of county chief, the number of non-natives exceeds that of the natives, although I think it would be true to say that chiefs, with hardly an exception, would rather be serving in their own natal areas. Indeed a few old chiefs of long service in the same place, who have despaired of ever getting back to their own area, have bought land in their chiefdom and thus regard the area as their home. The exceptional position of the county chiefs can be explained quite straightforwardly: it has been the general policy of Government to consider the particular problems of the county when appointing county chiefs. A county chief of standing has also some say in his own movements. For example, three of the chiefs concerned would only most reluctantly move to other counties. All but one had had administrative experience in other counties.

Table II

Chiefs who are natives of the units of which they are chief (Total sample)

	I	*II*	*III*	*IV*	Totals
Native	4	8	24	41	77
Non-native	1	20	47	54	122
Totals	5[a]	28[a&b]	71	95	199

Table III

Chiefs who are of the same tribe as the majority of the people whom they rule

	I	*II*	*III*	*IV*	Totals
Same Tribe	4	26	53	100	183
Different	1	8	5	2	16
Totals	5[a]	34[a&b]	58	102	199

Notes: (*a*) The secretary-general and assistant secretary-general to African Local Government are excluded from these figures because they hold district offices. They were both Kiga.

(*b*) No chiefs are included at all from Ruzhumbura county. Hima and Tusi are counted as Hororo or Ruanda respectively.

Of the sub-county chiefs only eight out of 28 are natives of their units. Promotion or appointment to this grade, as the other Tables confirm, is crucial. Most sub-county chiefs on appointment hope that they are on the way to a county of their own. Further, although all sub-counties carry the same salary, some are held to be more desirable than others and to carry more prestige, for example that sub-county which encloses the district headquarters. Generally speaking, the man next in line for promotion is the one appointed to any vacancy; therefore one appointment may result in several transfers. Within this system transfer to a man's natal area is often the reward for long and meritorious service, particularly in the case of a respected chief who, it is reckoned, has missed his chance of getting a county of his own.

Among the lower chiefs fewer are natives of their unit than are non-native, but the percentage of village chiefs (56%) is less than it is of parish chiefs (66%). Originally, however, chiefs were appointed from within their own unit in order that they might assist the sub-county chief with local advice. All the original parish chiefs were recruited in this way by the Ganda agents. This is still

said to be the theory of their appointment. It is obvious, however, from the Table that this ideal has in practice been considerably influenced by the bureaucratic pattern. Lower chieftainships are also often regarded as rewards for long service in other local government services, as is shown in Table 4. Further, transfer is often regarded as a sort of punishment, more severe than a fine, but not so harsh as dismissal. For example, in one sub-county I discovered that four of the eight sub-parish chiefs had only been in their present posts for two months, though they had all previous service in other sub-parishes of the sub-county, which were in fact their natal ones. A newly appointed and enthusiastic sub-county chief had moved them, on the understanding that, if they improved, he would return them to their original charges, and if not, they would be dismissed. The results of these two conflicting principles can be clearly seen.

Table III shows whether or not chiefs are of the same tribe as the majority of their people and the figures in this table are very different from those of Table II. The overwhelming majority of chiefs in all grades are of the same tribe as most of their people. Here the practical advantage of having a chief of the tribe of the ruled has outweighed both the bureaucratic principle and that which favours a district rather than a tribal organization. I only know two sub-counties ruled by foreigners well enough to generalize about the reaction of the people: in both, though the chiefs happened to be particularly able men, the people grumbled. Many of the common complaints against all chiefs were used with extra violence because a foreigner was chief. No chief can satisfy higher authority satisfactorily if his people are determined not to co-operate with him, to the extent of disobeying and suffering fines, so that on inspection the next higher authority finds the condition of things unsatisfactory. Inability to control his subordinates is the worst charge against a chief.

Age and Appointment

The year in which this survey was carried out followed one in which there had been several changes of personnel in all except the county grade. In 1953, for example, fourteen sub-counties had changed hands 'by reason of transfers and new appointments'.[1] Further, in some sub-counties I was told, though I was unable to

[1] District Report, 1953.

collect any reliable figures, that several of the older lower chiefs had been persuaded to resign or had been dismissed. Such periods of replacement seem to have run in erratic cycles, depending on the attitude of different district commissioners. All chiefs have some duties which require active physical participation, and infirmity is a positive bar to office. This is particularly so for lower chiefs who must needs have a high foot mileage. For example, in some sub-counties merely to attend weekly court may involve a lower chief in a walk of up to ten miles each way.

Table 1 shows clearly that most of the chiefs of all classes are between 30 and 50 years old, i.e. 87% of the total; and 40% of Class I, 80% of Class II, 92·5% of Class III, and 88·2% of Class IV. There were no chiefs of more than 60, though in the district there were several retired chiefs of over that age, some of whom served as councillors. Indeed, at least two of the old Ganda agents were still alive in 1956. There were no very old chiefs and few very young chiefs; only one of the higher chiefs was less than 30. Even in the ranks of the lower chiefs only 9% were under 30. A certain maturity is expected of chiefs as well as a capacity for physical activity. As might be expected, there was a higher proportion of elderly higher chiefs than there was of lower and the percentage of those over 50 declines through the grades in the order, 60%, 15%, 5·7% and 2·9% respectively. It is interesting to note that the percentage of village chiefs under 40 was 72% whereas that of the parish chiefs was only 43·4%. It will be clear from the later Tables that this is partly owing to the fact that the village grade is used as a training and testing period for the parish grade. Nevertheless there is a good deal of overlap, and most higher chiefs will have subordinates who are older than they are themselves.

The Years of Service and the Transfer of Chiefs

Chieftainship in Kigezi is a career; the information subsumed in Tables 6 and 7 illustrates to what extent it is a stable career. It is more likely that informants have omitted transfers than fabricated them.

We have just seen that most chiefs are between 30 and 50 and that very few serve on even into their fifties. This means that most chiefs cannot have a career lasting much more than twenty years. This higher age limit does not apply to chiefs only. In fact ministers of religion are the only salary-drawers likely to serve into old age.

The older chiefs at any rate are most unlike the ordinary Kiga, in that they do not want to sit back and relax after the cares of a busy life.

These Tables illustrate much that would have been expected from what has been written above. There is an increase in average length of service extending from the lowest to the uppermost grade. Those who have proved their ability and risen to the highest grade are those with the greatest length of total service. The average of 22·5 years of service for the county chiefs is a good deal higher than that for any of the other grades. Throughout all the grades there is a hard core of experienced chiefs, the average for all chiefs being eleven years, while no county chiefs had less than ten years' service as a chief; the percentages of chiefs with less than five years' service in Classes II, III and IV are 25%, 24·6%, 51·5% respectively.

It is worth noting that village chiefs, as compared with parish chiefs, generally had a slightly longer average service in their present posts, and only a slightly shorter (0·7 of a year) average length of service as chiefs. Table 1 shows that on average village chiefs are younger than parish chiefs. These facts together would tend to confirm the impression I received that many village chiefs who get promotion are unable to cope with their greater responsibilities as parish chiefs and are consequently dismissed, while those who do not obtain promotion continue to hold their own in the lower grade. Dismissal is a much more frequent punishment than demotion.

Promotion involves transfer, but transfer within the grades also takes place. The information obtained about transfers is subsumed in Table IV.

Table IV

Transfer, including promotions (wide sample)

No. of transfers	*I*	*I*	*III*	*IV*	*Totals*
0	—	3	12	44	15
1	1	4	16	18	21
2	2	3	10	2	15
3	—	5	2	1	7
4	—	1	—	—	1
5	3	—	—	—	3
Total Chiefs	6	16	40	65	62
Average No. changes	3·3	1·8	1·0	·4	1·5

Transfers within the same grade may be regarded either as promotions or demotions, though no salary difference is involved. I have not attempted to estimate whether a transfer within a grade was in fact a promotion or a demotion. To do so would involve knowing the details of each individual instance. The exception to this is my treatment of the offices of secretary-general, assistant secretary-general and assistant county chief, Ndorwa, who for convenience, and to avoid identifying individuals, have elsewhere been treated as part of a grade. In this instance appointment to these offices has been regarded as promotion. Each of these posts carries either extra salary or a 'duty' allowance, and appointment to any of them is clearly regarded as promotion by all the inhabitants of the district.

Excluding transfers due to promotion, 57% of all the chiefs had never been transferred. Lower chiefs were less mobile than higher, the percentages varying within the grades respectively from: I at 17%, II at 37%, III at 55% and IV at 68%, who had never been transferred.

Resignations, Retirements and Dismissals

It is not possible to present information about resignations and dismissals in tabular form for chiefs of any grade. Previous district reports do not give adequate information about these topics even for the upper chiefs, and lower chiefs are not mentioned at all. Records kept at county headquarters were inadequate.

County Chiefs

In the last twenty years no county chief has been dismissed. Two chiefs died in office; one of them had had over twenty years' service as a county chief and had been one of the original servants of the Ganda. In 1936 one of the original Kiga county chiefs retired after holding that office for only a few years; he is still alive and living in honourable retirement. In 1947, two county chiefs retired after a total service of 32 and 33 years respectively, as chiefs. One died during the survey year and the other is still one of the liveliest-minded men I have ever met. One chief resigned to take up a Protectorate Government post during the war and later returned to be a sub-county chief, retiring in 1948.

One of the present county chiefs had been dismissed from office while he was a sub-county chief, but after a gap of several years was reinstated, eventually gaining promotion to his present office.

Sub-county Chiefs

Since 1943 five chiefs are recorded as having resigned, six as retired and nine as dismissed, but there are some gaps in this record; for example, there are sixteen transfers recorded during this period for which the reasons are unspecified. Resignation often means that the chief concerned has been given the chance to resign rather than be dismissed. Demotion is very unusual.

Lower Chiefs

There is no way of accurately assessing the resignations and dismissals of lower chiefs.

The Qualifications of Chiefs

Qualifications such as personality, wisdom, honesty, etc., were not measurable, and here only such qualifications as schooling (Table 2), fluency in English (Table V), and religious affiliation (Table 3) are considered. Chieftainship has been the most coveted job in the district, and it would be true to say, as might be expected, that thc higher chiefs who have survived in such a competitive environment showed markedly strong personalities. As a group the higher chiefs gave me the impression of being the liveliest-minded, best-mannered, most active and responsible people in the district.

Education

It has been stated earlier that the chiefs on the district council have, on the average, a higher level of education than the elected members; this does not mean, however, that the general level of education by Protectorate standards is high. Not one chief holds a school certificate. Table 2 tabulates the educational attainments of chiefs. This only includes formal schooling and some chiefs have obtained a higher level than their actual school-leaving class would suggest. Most higher chiefs can read simple letters in Ru-Kiga. One chief, for example, though he had not been to a secondary school,

spoke almost perfect English and subscribed regularly to the *New Statesman*, *Spectator* and *Drum*. Four higher chiefs have visited England on Government-sponsored trips.

Thirty-six parish chiefs and 28 village chiefs claimed to have had some primary education but it is doubtful if, in fact, they had received that much schooling, for such is a popular claim among those who do not wish to be thought illiterate. Nevertheless, nearly every chief is able to pick his way through names and figures, such, for example, as would appear on a muster roll.

Table V

The Fluency in English of Chiefs (Total sample)

	I	*II*	*III*	*IV*	Totals
Fluent	2	11	2	—	15
Halting	—	7	2	1	10
Nil	4	17	67	96	184
	6	35	71	97	209

Notes: Fluent. In this category fall those who are able to carry on a conversation in English without strain.
Halting. In this category fall those who can explain times, dates and places and who can comprehend simple Governmental type instructions in English.

Table 2 gives the educational standard of the different grades of chief. The most highly educated grade is that of the sub-county chiefs, 25% of whom have had secondary education whereas only one lower chief has had secondary schooling. Of lower chiefs 55 (46%) have had no education, while only six (24%) of the higher chiefs are uneducated. Educational attainments are partly a matter of age; the higher chiefs who have had only negligible schooling are those who have been chiefs for many years, and were appointed before there were schools in the district for them to attend.

Recent developments have tended to emphasize the difference in education between higher and lower chiefs. In recent selections of chiefs, educational qualifications have been important. Only three higher chiefs appointed during the last ten years spoke no English, and only one had had no schooling beyond Class IV in a primary school. The exception was an old parish chief, known for his strength of character, who was appointed to a sub-county which had been neglected by a previous chief. There is now small hope for

a man of little education who aspires to a higher chieftainship. On the other hand, lower chieftainships are no longer attractive to educated men. A man of good education, particularly of secondary standard, can earn as much, or probably more, as a schoolmaster or clerk than he can as a lower chief. Such a man is only interested in a lower chieftainship either as a preliminary to chieftainship of a higher grade, or as a form of retirement. Thus, while there is a tendency for higher chiefs to be progressively more educated the educational qualifications of lower chiefs do not appcar to be improving.

Religious Affiliations of Chiefs

In Kigezi district, religious affiliation is most important in every aspect of political life. For example, during the district council elections which took place during my stay in the district every candidate in each sub-county stood primarily as either a Protestant or a Roman Catholic. Pagan voters, and the majority of the population are pagan, had therefore to declare themselves publicly as supporting one party or the other.[1] Religious affiliation, in this context, overrode both tribal and clan sentiment. The numerical strengths of the two factions, though varying considerably from sub-county to sub-county, are approximately even over the district as a whole. Not a single avowed pagan was returned to the district council.

Chiefs are often accused of favouring their co-religionists, either in court or by promotion within local government. The people say this about the chiefs, and individual chiefs accuse other chiefs of such favouritism. Defeat in court and failure to achieve promotion are most frequently attributed to this cause whenever the losers are of different religions to the chief. I cannot recollect ever witnessing a court decision that was greatly affected by the religious views of the chief trying the case, but it is significant that so many people and chiefs think in those terms.

This division by religion, though it has been discouraged by Government, has been recognized by it. Table 3 shows that there is little difference in the totals, at any level, between the chiefs of the two denominations. There are no pagan higher chiefs and no likelihood of any being made. Of the seventeen lower chiefs who were pagans, only four were parish chiefs, and even of the sub-parish

[1] Voters had to line up behind the candidate they supported.

chiefs, only 19% were pagan. Any chief who aspires to advancement must declare himself for one denomination or the other. Further, to remain a pagan is a declaration of illiteracy, which is nowadays also a bar to promotion.

I only know of one higher and one lower chief who, once declared, changed their denomination. Several chiefs are devout followers of their faiths but not all are so; some are openly pagan or agnostic in religion, though very partisan in their politics. Of the total chiefs, 42% had more than one living wife.

Previous Occupations and Employers of Chiefs

Information about the previous occupations and employers of chiefs immediately prior to their first appointment is condensed into Tables 4 and 5. To compress the diverse material into the categories of the Tables has necessitated some simplification but, it is hoped, no serious distortion.

One of the five Class I chiefs who were policemen or soldiers before being made chiefs began his career as a servant of an early Ganda agent, when offices and responsibilities were not clearly defined. In those days servants, if they were confident and able, acted on occasions as lower chiefs, runners and guards. The category of mission ex-employees, who number nineteen, includes qualified teachers, bush-school teachers, catechists and labourers. In the case of teachers, as all education is mission-directed, the fact of mission employment may be unimportant. All the ex-teachers are higher chiefs and more likely to owe their appointment to their literacy than to any mission association, though they may well have first brought themselves into notice by the vocal parts which they played on church committees. Conspicuous activity on church committees is one of the methods by which a Kigezi man may cause himself to be noticed by higher chiefs who are also active in church work. There are few other means.

The category 'religious teacher', 10% of the total, means catechist, whose duties comprise simple instruction of catechumens and the general assistance of the few and overworked clergy. Men of education or from rich families seldom undertake this work, for, though some individual catechists are greatly respected for their moral and spiritual stature, the job itself is not respected and only carries a salary of about five shillings a month with very few perquisites. It is, however, one of the main channels by which a man

of neither education nor influential family may graduate into the lower grades of chieftainship. This is recognized by Kiga. Not only does the job itself bring a catechist into local prominence, but it also gives training in settling minor cases between church members and in organizing communal church labour, both of which activities are good training for a lower chief. Of the fifteen ex-catechists interviewed only one had become a higher chief. Seven had become polygonists since they became chiefs.

The largest proportion of chiefs, of all grades, has come from previous employment with African Local Government itself, ex-employees of which make up 34% of all chiefs. They are found in greater proportions in the higher grades than in the lower, declining through the four grades in the percentages 60%, 55%, 43% and 19%. This is not surprising. African Local Government is the largest single employer of labour in the district, though, as education and Christianity spread, it may be overtaken by the missions. Employees of the African Local Government are in the best possible position from which to become chiefs; they are regularly under the notice of chiefs, officials and people, and they get a training in bureaucratic administration. Furthermore there has grown up the tradition that service in local government is continuous in whatever capacity, either as chief or orderly. When I was enquiring into the lengths of service of chiefs, I always had to make clear the distinction between chiefly and non-chiefly services. In the early days, as is pointed out above, the different jobs were often not even theoretically distinct, and today, in the absence of the chief, a clerk or policeman may give decisions as if he were a chief; these are recognized by many of the people as being of the same type as a chief's ruling. In many courts the clerks and police join in as if they were qualified court members, and often a higher chief may turn to their advice rather than to that of his lower chiefs. Lower chiefs often accept orders from a clerk, well aware that he is acting on his own and not as mouthpiece for the chief, because if he is earning a higher salary than theirs, as most clerks do, then they consider him as senior to them, in his own right, in the African Local Government hierarchy. This participation in Government, as well as being a training in routine, also produces the best-trained persons, in terms of preparedness to assume understood authority and to maintain the bureaucratic tradition of African Local Government.

Entrance to the clerical branch of the African administration, during the last few years, has been largely determined by a school-

leavers' examination, but this has not long been so. Many African Local Government police commenced their service as runners or orderlies and got 'promotion' into the police, and several clerks have been 'promoted' from the police after they had learnt office routine and, by private study, acquired the necessary literacy. Generally speaking, a policeman earns more than a sub-parish chief and a clerk more than a parish chief, therefore a policeman is normally not attracted by a sub-parish chieftainship nor a clerk by a parish chieftainship, unless they feel that they are likely to be superannuated in their jobs as standards rise and they look upon such posts as forms of semi-retirement or a means of getting posted to their own natal areas. I suggest that most of the lower chiefs recruited from ex-employees of the local government were so recruited and that these reasons explain the smaller number of ex-employees of African Local Government in the lower grades. On the other hand, the higher grades of chieftainship offer, on district standards, a good salary, power and prestige.

Ex-employees of the Protectorate Government (total fifteen) make up 10% of the sample, or 20% of the higher and 8% of the lower grade. Clerks and medical assistants have contributed to the higher grade, labourers and medical orderlies to the lower. I suggest that in a similar manner to that described for African Local Government ex-employees, higher-grade service is more rewarding than Government service, whereas lower-grade service is not. It is doubtful if the previous Protectorate Government service of the lower chiefs was relevant to their appointments, except in so far as residence at the district headquarters may have given some of them opportunity to get into the public eye. As the activities of the African Local Government have increased in number and scope and become more separated from those of the Protectorate Government, Protectorate Government service has become of no practical use to aspirants to lower chieftainships. In the last ten years only two chiefs of the sample, both of sub-parishes, have been selected from any but the clerical and police branches of Protectorate Government service.

Ex-employees of private firms (mostly miners) and self-employed persons (mostly petty traders), together only total fifteen persons, or 10% of the total chiefs. All but one were lower-grade chiefs. Except in so far as their employment increased their skills in social intercourse and their circle of acquaintance, it is unlikely that their employment experiences were relevant to their selection as chiefs.

At least 10% of the total males in Kigezi have, at some time, worked either in the mines or as petty traders. All the seven ex-traders were sub-parish chiefs; I think it may be presumed that they were not successful traders or they would not have given up trading for the small rewards of a sub-parish. Petty trading is the recourse of many dismissed or retired chiefs.

Kinship Ties between Chiefs

Table 8 summarizes some of the ties of kinship and affinity which the surveyed chiefs had with other chiefs. Some relationships are recorded once, as when the declared relative was not interviewed; some are recorded twice, as when both the parties were interviewed.

Except in Ruzhumbura county, which is excluded from the survey (see Table I), where the Hima ruling family was recognized by Government, there has not been sufficient time in Kigezi for chiefs to create dynasties. Only four chiefs (3%), three of whom were sub-parish chiefs, were the grandsons of chiefs. Not one of the indigenous county chiefs (again excluding Ruzhumbura), past or present, had a son who was a chief at the time of the survey. This accords with the administrative policy that there should be a bureaucratic chieftainship system, within which promotion is by merit; but, as Table 8 shows, several chiefs were connected by other ties of relationship. For example, 27% of the chiefs were sons of chiefs and 10% were brothers of chiefs. These percentages imply some sort of compromise between the Government belief in open bureaucracy and the Kiga theory that 'good fathers have good sons'. But, I suggest, the degree of contradiction is not as great as it seems. The same cause which has enabled the upper caste to supply more than its numerical proportion of chiefs, that is, higher educational attainment, partly explains why there is a high proportion of chiefs who are agnatically related to each other. Chiefs have not only been in the financial position to send their sons and brothers to school but, as agents of progress, have been expected to do so. This has given their dependants opportunities to take up appointments with the African Local Government, the Protectorate Government and the missions, from which sources, as we have just seen above, 57% of all chiefs are recruited. Further, however valuable kinship ties may be in securing a chieftainship, such ties are no guarantee either of permanency or promotion. Chiefs in

Kigezi have had to satisfy officers of the Protectorate Government that they were efficient and honest. Kinship ties with other chiefs could not screen them from inspection and, if they were clearly inefficient, from dismissal.

Twelve per cent of the chiefs stood to each other in the relationship of brother-in-law. Most of the marriages which created this relationship had occurred after, not before, the men involved had been appointed to a chieftainship. They cannot therefore be considered as a means used to obtain a chieftainship, though they may affect permanence and promotion. In the cases in which the marriage histories were known to me, chiefs had married the sisters of other chiefs, because of mutual regard and friendship between the men or in order to cement an achieved position, or because it is thought appropriate by Kiga that men of wealth and power should marry the sisters or daughters of men of wealth and power.

NOTE ON TABLES

The Sample.

Data are given for five out of six county chiefs (Class I) and twenty out of 35 sub-county chiefs (Class II) as well as 53 out of the 150 parish chiefs (Class III) and 68 out of about 300 headmen (Class IV).

The Tables.

Percentages were worked out on the basis of Actual Totals, i.e. the number of chiefs in each class in the sample. The refusal rate was, however, low and there was little difference between Actual Totals and Totals.

In the case of Tables 4, 5 and 8 the categories are not mutually exclusive, since a man might have worked for the Central Government as well as for a mission for instance (Table 4); or as a clerk as well as a trader (Table 5). He might also be a son of a chief as well as a brother-in-law of another chief (Table 8). Hence the figures do not necessarily total 100%. Where no data are available on specific points for certain chiefs, totals also cannot reach 100%.

THE KIGA

1. AGE

	Class of Chief				
	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
30 and under	0	5·0	1·9	8·8	5·5
31–40 years	0	40·0	41·5	63·2	50·0
41–50 „	40·0	40·0	51·0	25·0	37·0
51–60 „	60·0	15·0	5·7	2·9	7·5
Actual Totals	5	20	53	68	146

2. EDUCATION

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
None	60·0	15·0	30·2	58·2	42·0
Primary	40·0	60·0	68·0	41·8	53·9
Secondary	0	25·0	1·9	0	4·1
Actual Totals	5	20	53	68	146

3. RELIGION

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
Protestant	40·0	50·0	52·9	38·2	45·2
Roman Catholic	60·0	45·0	39·6	42·7	42·5
Muslim	0	5·0	0	0	0·7
Pagan	0	0	7·5	19·1	11·6
Actual Totals	5	20	53	68	146

4. PREVIOUS EMPLOYERS

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
Central Govt.	40·0	15·0	7·5	8·8	10·3
African Local Govt.[1]	60·0	55·0	43·4	19·1	34·2
Mission	0	15·0	15·1	11·8	13·0
European/Asian	0	5·0	7·5	4·4	5·5
Self-employed[2]	0	0	0	10·3	4·8
Actual Totals	5	20	53	68	146

[1] 'African Local Govt.' refers to employment other than that of chief.

[2] 'Self-employed' refers to a trader or business man; peasant cultivators are excluded.

5. PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT

	Class of Chief				
	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
Clerk	20·0	60·0	17·0	2·9	16·4
Police/Army	80·0	5·0	24·6	8·8	16·4
Teacher/Catechist	0	20·0	13·2	11·8	13·0
Skilled labourer	0	5·0	7·5	5·9	6·2
Unskilled labourer	0	0	11·3	14·7	11·0
Trader	0	0	0	10·3	4·8
Actual Totals	5	20	53	68	146

6. TENURE IN PRESENT POST

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
0–1 years	0	15·0	28·4	28·0	25·4
2–3 ,,	20·0	35·0	30·2	19·1	25·4
4–5 ,,	40·0	15·0	11·3	17·6	15·8
6–10 ,,	20·0	30·0	24·6	29·4	27·4
11–15 ,,	20·0	0	5·7	2·9	4·1
16–20 ,,	0	5·0	0	0	0·7
21–25 ,,	0	0	0	1·5	0·7
26–35 ,,	0	0	0	1·5	0·7
Actual Totals	5	20	53	68	146

7. TOTAL SERVICE AS CHIEF

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
0–5 years	0	25·0	24·6	51·5	36·3
6–10 ,,	0	25·0	30·2	29·4	28·1
11–15 ,,	20·0	5·0	18·9	8·8	12·3
16–20 ,,	20·0	20·0	15·1	0	9·2
21–25 ,,	20·0	15·0	5·7	2·9	6·2
26–35 ,,	40·0	5·0	1·9	2·9	4·1
35 and over	0	5·0	0	0	0·7
Actual Totals	5	20	53	68	146

8. RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER CHIEFS *Class of Chief*

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
Son of chief	20·0	25·0	20·8	32·4	26·7
Grandson of chief	20·0	0	0	5·9	3·4
Brother of chief	40·0	10·0	13·2	4·4	9·6
Brother-in-law of chief	20·0	10·0	15·1	8·8	11·6
Actual Totals	5	20	53	68	146

Association tests.

Association tests were done by G. M. Teoh. There is a significant association between age and direct appointment to I and II level chieftainships and between age and previous employment by the Central and African Local Government and missions.

Chapter XIII

THE ALUR[1]

The country of the Alur, which straddles the border between north-west Uganda and the Belgian Congo, covers an area of about 2,000 square miles. The territory is a belt of land about 70–80 miles wide which lies along the west bank of the northern end of Lake Albert and continues for a further 40 miles along the Albert Nile. The latter river in fact forms the eastern boundary of the territory, while its western frontier lies along an undulating escarpment in the Belgian Congo which slopes gradually westwards from the Nile-Congo divide.

The Uganda Alur, the subject of this chapter, inhabit three distinct belts of country. The first of these is the lowland area, a band of some three miles wide along the shores of Lake Albert and the Albert Nile. This is an unhealthy malaria-ridden district with a low density of population (64 per square mile) at an altitude of about 2,000 feet. Cassava is replacing finger millet as the staple food of the people, and fishing and the production of mineral salts are important lowland industries in addition to agriculture. The lowlands rise gradually to a midland belt consisting of a series of separate plateaux and valleys that stand at 3,000 to 4,000 feet. This district is also rather unhealthy and the population is sparse (71 per square mile). Cattle are not kept in this area. The staple foods were formerly finger millet, sorghum, simsim and beans but, as elsewhere in Alurland, cassava is becoming increasingly important. Maize is grown extensively for beer-brewing and the area is proving suitable for cotton. This development is leading to increased prosperity.

[1] Written by A. I. Richards from field material collected by A. W. Southall during 1950–1 and published in his book, *Alur Society* (1956). He was the holder of a grant from the Colonial Social Science Research Council and was attached to the East African Institute of Social Research.

The midland belt rises to the high grasslands that stand at 4,000 feet and over. This area is the healthiest part of Alurland and the most densely populated (112 per square mile). The grasslands feed numerous cattle and are intersected by valleys with rich soil. The staple foods were originally finger millet, beans, sweet potatoes and pumpkins. Maize and, more recently, cassava are ousting finger millet as staple crops. Arabica coffee is grown but not to any large extent. The Congo Alur live on an extension of this highland belt.

Among the Uganda tribes the Alur are reckoned backward as compared to the inhabitants on the fertile shores of Lake Victoria. A short burst of economic activity followed the return of soldiers from the war in 1946. Many of these invested their war bonuses in small shops and motor transport. At the same time high cotton prices led to more extensive production. However this prosperity was followed by a recession, and Alurland is at present reckoned as a labour reserve for the industries, sugar plantations and cotton gardens of Buganda and the neighbouring territory of Busoga, while large numbers of Alur enter the Protectorate police force. Many Alur come south annually for the cotton season to work for Ganda farmers or to grow cotton themselves on a share-cropping basis. The difficulties of the Alur appear to be not so much the poverty of their environment, since cotton and coffee could be grown much more extensively than they are, but rather the isolation of the country and its poor communications with the railway and lake transport to the south. These difficulties, combined with the fact that the unskilled wage in this district was Shs. 14/– a month in 1952 as against a minimum wage of Shs. 40/– to 50/– a month in Kampala, incline the highland Alur in particular to emigrate rather than to develop their own country.

From the point of view of political authority these economic factors are important. For one thing the position of 'chief' in Alurland is probably the most highly paid and sought-after in the country, whereas for the tribes living in the south there are many alternative forms of employment and often of more lucrative employment. The date of the short boom in Alurland after the last war is also important. The introduction of cotton enabled Ganda and Soga chiefs to become rich in the early part of the century while tribute labour was still allowed; but the 1946 boom in Alurland came when the pattern of chieftainship was already set by the British Government, and it did not include rights to tribute.

The total population of the Alur tribe is about 200,000, of whom

roughly half are in Uganda and half in the Belgian Congo. At the time of the 1948 census the actual population of the two Alur counties of Okoro and Jonam was 87,524, the rest of the Uganda Alur being scattered as emigrants in other parts of the Protectorate, but chiefly in Buganda.[1] The Alur are very heterogeneous in their ethnic composition. A dominant aristocracy of Lwoo has incorporated into its political structure many subordinate ethnic groups, of which some are of Sudanic origin, for instance, the Okebo and the Lendu. These subject peoples remain as distinct sub-cultures with their own customs, although they are absorbed into the structural framework of the Alur. Other groups of diverse origin have been even more closely incorporated into the structure of Lwoo clans.

The language of the Alur belongs to the Lwoo group of the Nilotic family. This group includes the languages of the Acholi, the Palwo, the Padhola, the Lango and the Lwoo-speaking peoples of the Nyanza province of Kenya.

According to Alur tradition, Lwoo groups first crossed the Albert Nile about twelve generations ago when the ancestors of the Alur arrived from the Sudan. Madi, Okebo and Lendu appear to have travelled by a similar route at much the same time. Some of the Lwoo crossed the Nile and settled in what is now Alurland; others went south-east to Acholiland, or to Bunyoro where they furnished the royal (Bito) dynasty of that tribe. However, in the tradition of the Nyoro themselves this change of dynasty is placed eighteen generations ago. All that can be said here about this discrepancy is that tradition is not the same as history; that Alur and Nyoro may have reasons for divergent interpretations; and that in any case it is to be expected that the length of generations in ruling lines should vary from one social system to another.[2] The heterogeneity of the population and the position of the dominant Alur aristocrats are relevant factors in present-day administrative difficulties.

The peoples of Alurland, whether they call themselves Alur, Okebo, Lendu, Madi or Magungu, are divided into patrilineal clans with a series of eponymous segmentary divisions which are highly localized. Areas occupied by such lineages or sections of clans are under the authority of recognized hereditary heads. Certain clans are recognized as noble and these are the descendants of the Lwoo

[1] See *Economic Development and Tribal Change*, ed. A. I. Richards, 1954.

[2] Alur tradition has been dealt with by Crazzolara, *The Lwoo*, Part I, 1950, Part II, 1951, Part III, 1954, and by Southall, 'Alur Tradition and its Historical Significance', *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1954.

who first crossed the Nile to settle in Alurland and secured positions of authority. Among them is the clan Atyak, which has provided chiefs for the chiefdoms of Ukuru, Panduru, Paidha and Padea, or the clan Ucibu, which has provided chiefs for Juganda, Angal and Mambisa.

The Alur chiefs came from these noble clans. By the end of the nineteenth century not only had these chiefs acquired authority over a territory of their own, but also their sons were accepted as chieflets over subject peoples, or groups of Alur that had settled some way from the centre of the chiefdom. Alur chiefs seem to have derived their political authority from their people's belief that they had the power to make and avert rain. They also provided the most important means of contact with the ancestors through ancestral shrines built at their homesteads and with other supernatural guardian forces whose shrines were situated in groves also under the chiefs' care. They performed first-fruit ceremonies and sacrifices when divination showed that such sacrifices were necessary. The chiefs were put in charge of ritual secrets on their accession and kept elaborate food taboos. Nevertheless, these chiefs had little executive authority and the form of government which they exercised cannot be called a centralized one. They had no military organization to support them nor administrative officers such as ministers and junior officials. The most important function of the chiefs seems to have been the stopping of disputes between warring clan sections. This power was based largely on the ritual attributes of the chief, though there was an ultimate sanction of force available in the chief's power to call together loyal clans to plunder those who failed to obey him. Alur history gives instances of Alur clan sections welcoming a chieflet of royal lineage to settle their disputes and of Lendu and other stranger communities asking to be sent a chief's son to act as their ruler. Chieflets continued to give homage to the head of the chiefdom from which they had originally separated.

Under these chiefs or chieflets were the heads of the clan sections who had their own sphere of authority, sanctioned by kinship rather than political values, and who dealt with crimes and delicts between clan members, marriage and other clan business. Each district, therefore, had several clan section heads with their own civil jurisdiction, and a chief or chieflet who fulfilled quite different functions as an arbitrator or keeper of the peace. An Alur chief on his accession received homage from both the chieflets and the clan

heads under him. Clan sections were supposed to give annual tribute to the chief and, in some chiefdoms, each clan section was also associated with one of the chief's wives and its members provided her with tribute labour when required.

The whole political structure was hence a very loose one. But localized clan sections which had given their allegiance to chiefs or chieflets from the same royal lineage were linked together through the agnatic ties of their rulers and by the ritual duties in which their jurisdiction found expression. Intermarriage also formed a network of bonds between territorial groups. Southall[1] uses the term 'segmentary state' for this loose form of structure and suggests that this type of political system is half-way between the acephalous segmentary societies and the multiple-kingdom tribes found among the Interlacustrine Bantu.

Example

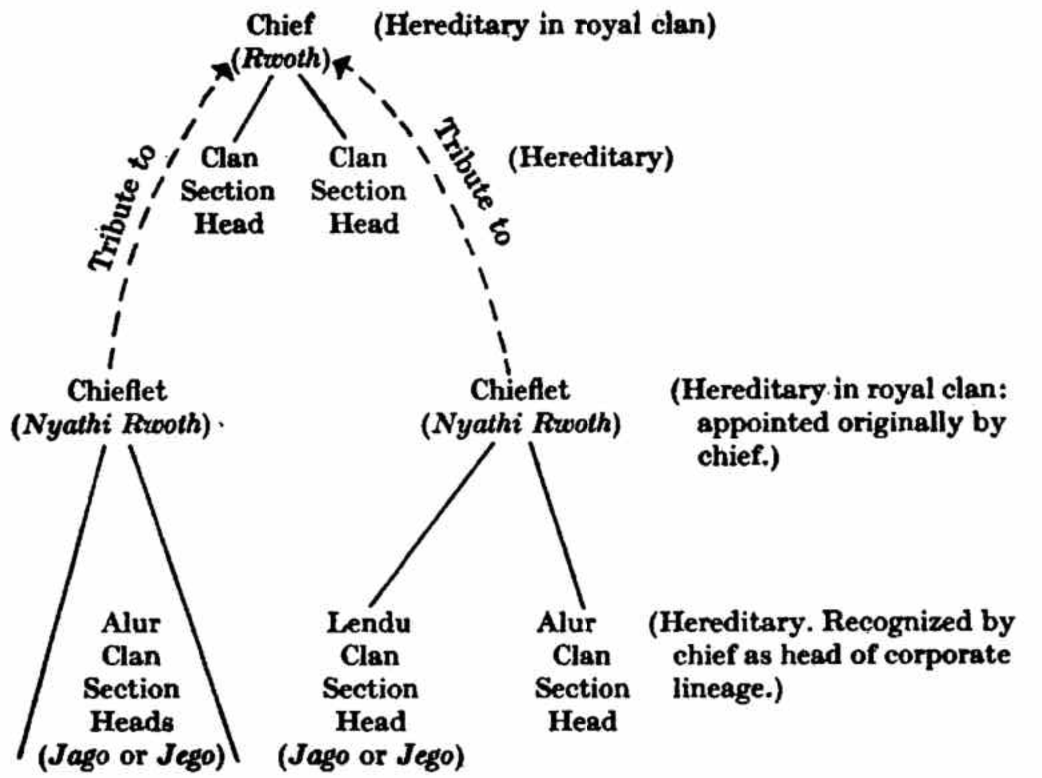
District	*Office*	*Name*
County Okoro	SULTAN	JALAURE—(Son of traditional chief who was first Sultan under the British)
Sub-county Zeu	WAKIL	YOWANA UWINJA—(Grandson of traditional chieflet who became first *wakil* of Zeu, and son of second *wakil*)
Parish Upano | Clan section heads (Alur)		
Parish Ayaka | 3 Okebo, 1 Lendu 8 Alur clan section heads.		
Parish Pamatho | 4 Lendu clan section heads.		

Succession to a chieftainship proceeded from father to son but, as in the case of clan headship, the rule of primogeniture was not

[1] A. W. Southall, *The Alur*, 1956, pp. 246 ff.

ALUR

Traditional System



N.B. Chief has his own clan heads under him. His sons appointed as chieflets over Alur clan sections and over subject peoples.

Modern System (British administration)

STAGE I

Unit	*Ruler*
County	Chief (*sultan*). Corresponds most nearly to traditional chief.
Sub-county	Sub-chief (*wakil*). Rough correspondence to chieflet.
Parish	Big headman (Big *mukungu*). Rough correspondence to small chieflet.
Village	Small headman (Small *mukungu*). Rough correspondence to clan section head.

STAGE II

No.:	*Unit*	*Ruler*
2	County	Chief (*sultan*). Appointed by British Administration from those with best hereditary claims. Salaried.
10	Sub-county	Sub-Chief (*wakil*). As above. Salaried.
	Parish ... ... (Big headmanship abolished. Villages grouped in parishes.)	Headman (*mukungu*). As above. Often any noble Alur of chiefly lineage. Salaried. Assistant (*Nyampara*). Nominated by locality. Small payment.

necessarily followed. In the discussions that took place the dead chief's wishes were considered as well as those of elders of the royal and commoner clans, and those of the chief's relatives. Chieflets were confirmed in the first instance by chiefs but, once established, they themselves founded hereditary lines. Clan section heads succeeded by direct agnatic descent to positions as heads of segments or sub-segments of the clan in the same way but without the rituals of chieftainship.

Changes introduced by the British Administration

A system of this type naturally presented grave difficulties to the British Administration when it first took over authority at the beginning of the century. The problem was not only the backwardness of the people, their distance from administrative headquarters and the lack of communication between different parts of the territory, but the fact that the Alur were divided into a number of small and constantly proliferating petty chiefdoms loosely related to parent chiefdoms and that each of these units had flexible territorial boundaries. A further difficulty was that all positions of authority were hereditary whether at the level of chiefdoms or of clan sections, and that chiefs had little executive authority and relied mainly on their ritual powers rather than on military or civil support. There were few wealthy men in Alurland who could form the basis of a more or less leisured middle class such as developed in Buganda and Busoga with the advent of cotton and coffee. As has been described, the economic prosperity of Alurland developed after the last war rather than at the beginning of the century. Finally, it was not easy for the Protectorate Government to use experienced administrators from the southern tribes as it had done elsewhere in Uganda. The language difficulties were too great, although one Nyoro chief was appointed as an agent in 1914 and was subsequently appointed as a chief.

The history of the contact of Alurland with Europeans has also been an unusually complicated one. The country was originally part of the Lado district of the Sudanese province of Equatoria founded by General Gordon. From 1885 to 1888, Emin Pasha, his successor, was isolated in this part of the country and had to make a living for himself and his Sudanese troops by cattle-raiding in Alur country. In 1890 the east bank of the Nile with its population of lowland Alur was given to Uganda and in 1893 the Lado Enclave

was allotted to the Congo Free State. Belgian Congo administration began in 1897, but staff was short and the first decade of the century was a period of changing frontiers, expeditions of European elephant-hunters, and of slave raids. In 1910 the Lado Enclave was given back to the Sudan only to be exchanged four years later by Uganda for other territory. It is not surprising in view of these changes that the political situation was extremely confused on both Belgian and British sides of the border.

The first task of the British Government in opening up the country was naturally to attempt to settle the disputes between warring factions; to establish suitable units of government; and to amalgamate small units into large ones. The Government did not, as in Busoga, appoint a paramount chief over the area and has never attempted to reach this type of centralization in Alurland. It proceeded by means of deposing unsuitable chiefs, often in favour of their sons, and by gradually eliminating hereditary elements. The first step was the recognition of the two most powerful chiefs in the highlands and lowlands respectively as sultans of the counties of Okoro and Jonam. Many of the chieflets under them were recognized as *wakils*, or sub-county chiefs in present-day terminology. Amalgamation of these tiny chiefdoms proceeded apace. In 1928 there were 67 *wakils* in Okoro; by 1951 the number had been reduced to eighteen.

Among the highland Alur it was necessary to recognize two grades of headmen, who were known as big and little *wakungu*. This title corresponds to parish chief as used elsewhere in Uganda. The big *wakungu* tended in the first instance to be sons or brothers of big chiefs. Below them were the small *wakungu*, or 'community headmen', who were usually clan section heads.

In 1920 it was found possible to reduce these officials so that there was only one type of *mukungu*, who was given an assistant (*nyampara*) to help him. Some noble Alur were reluctant to give up posts as big *wakungu* and hence they retired to areas where their own relatives lived and in at least one instance became head of a new parish there.

Most sub-counties now bear no relation at all to single traditional units, though they may consist of an amalgamation of several traditional areas. The size of units administered can be gauged from the following figures from the 1948 census and from Southall's data:

	Population
County Jonam	19,435 (1948)
Sub-county (average)	3,239
Parish ,,	1,495
County Okoro	68,089 (1948)
Sub-county (average)	7,565
Parish ,,	1,513

Sub-county chiefs were in the first instance drawn from the ranks of existing chiefs, chieflets and sons of chiefs, except in the sub-county of Parombo where an important local clan head was appointed. For the post of parish chief, senior chiefs tended to choose their own sons and brothers, hereditary heads of local lineages or neighbouring petty chiefs. The British Government proceeded to eliminate gradually, not only unsuitable hereditary candidates, but also the hereditary principle of appointment. This process, as in Busoga, took about 30 years. The first step was the appointment of educated relatives of the traditional heir in his place. The second step was the transferring of traditional office holders to other parishes besides their own. Lastly has come the introduction of non-hereditary authorities selected by the British Administration for qualities such as education or loyal service to the Government.

So strong has been the belief in the right of the Alur aristocracy to rule that great resentment has been caused by some of these changes. Southall describes the situation in Jonam where the role of sultan of Jonam and of hereditary chief of Ragem had been combined. In 1945 the son of the previous ruler, who had acted as sultan since 1927, was murdered and his son was made chief of Ragem according to traditional rules, but as he was a schoolboy the Government appointed his father's brother as sultan, on the grounds that he was a good tax-collector and administrator. This Government appointee felt insecure, because the people expected the chief of Ragem to be sultan of Jonam also. They considered it unconstitutional for a man to succeed his brother in office and regarded the sultan as a wicked uncle who had usurped the rights of his brother's son. It had also been prophesied that the sultan would lose his job unless he committed a ritual murder. He was suspected of killing a schoolboy to confirm his position in this way and was charged and convicted in the High Court of Uganda, but afterwards acquitted by the East African Court of Appeal. A man from an entirely different chiefdom and clan has now been made sultan

and the office thus separated from that of the chieftainship of Ragem.

Since the British Administration took control, chiefs at the county and sub-county level have been appointed direct by the district commissioner, and the Tables below show the extent to which the field of selection for candidates has been gradually broadened. The amalgamation of units, as Southall points out, has in itself provided a much larger choice of hereditary *wakils* than existed before. There have also been a considerable number of dismissals and the last 30 to 40 years of government in the area have been years of constant change in political units and of dismissals and appointments of chiefs.

Efforts have been made recently to make the district council[1] responsible for the selection of chiefs. In 1948 it was decided that cases of dismissal of sultans and *wakils* were to be submitted to the council for comment, and this body is evidently getting more power over appointments.

The figures collected by Southall for British Alurland give some indication as to how far the elimination of hereditary principles has been successful in this part of the world. He shows that of all the sub-county chiefs appointed from 1914 to 1951, i.e. 107 chiefs, 63, or 59%, had hereditary claims and 44, or 41%, were selected on the basis of previous service. If the original seventeen sub-county chiefs who were in positions of authority when the British arrived are excluded, then the proportions are 46 hereditary and 44 appointed on the basis of service. In 1951, all the sub-county chiefs in Jonam were hereditary and in Okoro four out of eight.

A similar state of affairs holds good with regard to the headmen. For instance, in the case of Paidha in Okoro county, the original thirteen chieflets first became headmen and were then progressively reduced to three. On the present figures the appointments to headmanships within this sub-county were made on the following basis:

Headmen of chiefly descent	55·8%
Clan or lineage heads	20·5%
Promoted on account of service	8·8%
Other personal qualifications	14·7%

In the case of Parombo sub-county, in which there were origin-

[1] Now the African Local Government.

ally fourteen hereditary headmen, subsequent appointments were as follows:

Hereditary	45%
Appointed on account of service	50%
Appointed for popularity	5%

Several sultans started as headmen. As has been explained, chiefs, chieflets or important clan section heads put forward their sons for junior posts and hence they acquired experience which fitted them for senior posts. Once promoted they also became known to the Government and were likely candidates for further promotion. This practice no longer obtains. The headmen are not promoted to higher ranks of the service and are essentially local men, but there seems to be considerable mobility in the higher ranks. Mobility from district to district is also considerable. In Okoro the sub-counties had, on an average, five sub-county chiefs in a 39-year period: that is to say, each *wakil* had an average length of service of seven years. In Padyere there were also five *wakils* in the 39-year period and in Jonam six.

Okoro had three sultans in 39 years, making an average length of thirteen years' service for each, while in Jonam there were four sultans in the same period giving an average length of just over nine and a half years.

Dismissals seem to have been frequent. Out of 46 sub-county chiefs in Okoro and Jonam in the 37-year period between 1914–51 there were the following changes:

Dismissals	25
Promotion or Transfer	11
Retired	8
Died	2

In two sub-counties of Okoro there were these changes of lower chiefs :

Paidha		*Parombo*	
Dismissals	15	Dismissals	9
Promotion or transfer	2	Promotion or transfer	2
Retired	9	Retired on amalgamation	11
Dismissals through amalgamation	11	Died	10
Unknown	5	Demoted in favour of his father	1
		Unknown	3
Total	42	Total	36

The first form of training for administration in the Alur country was the apprentice work obtained by sons of sultans or *wakils*. Work as a clerk or other official in the district commissioner's office or in that of the African Local Government next came to be considered the best avenue to success. Of the two existing sultans, one was a policeman and rose to be a parish chief before being made sultan, largely on the basis of hereditary claims. The other had worked for the African Local Government and then in the Protectorate Government office before he was promoted. Of eight *wakils*, three had been parish chiefs, two policemen, two teachers and one had worked for the African Local Government.

The education of all Alur chiefs is low compared to that of the African administrators in south Uganda. None of the headmen's assistants (*nyampara*) are literate, and the headmen themselves are described as only knowing 'simple Swahili' apart from their mother tongue. These sub-county chiefs are literate but are inferior in education to their clerks—a situation which reverses that found in south Uganda. One of the sub-county chiefs has had primary education and one, no education. One of the sultans has had primary education and the other, none.

The salaries and the standard of living of these chiefs is also low compared with those among the other Uganda tribes described. The annual salary of a sultan varies from £80 to £420 according to the number of taxpayers and that of a sub-county chief from £27 to £180. Parish chiefs get from £12 to £52 a year for their work and headmen and their assistants £6 a year.

It is evident that during the last four or five years since Southall was in Alurland, the country has been progressing rapidly. The number of those who have enjoyed at least some years of primary education has increased and some of the younger men have crystallized their ideas in opposition to the beliefs and practices of the elders, which they now regard as superstitious. Many have planted coffee in the highlands on an unprecedented scale. Little of this coffee has started to bear as yet, but it will clearly make a big difference to the economy in a few years' time. This added prosperity may reduce the emigration of unskilled workers. On the other hand, a perennial crop such as coffee lends itself easily to planting, even by absentees, such as those pursuing careers in the Uganda police, since their wives or kinsmen can tend it while they are away. The increase in clothing is a further indication of rising standards. In local government more Alur are showing themselves

alive to the importance of choosing able men to represent them. Several of the political parties originating in Buganda have established branches in West Nile district, but the Alur are suspicious of south Uganda politicians who fail to prove that they have local interests at heart.

NOTE ON TABLES

The Sample.

The sample consists of the two county chiefs (Class I) at the time of the survey, and eight out of the 18 sub-county chiefs (Class II). No data were collected on parish chiefs or headmen.

Percentages have been worked out for comparative reasons, but the numbers are so small that the results can hardly be described as significant.

The Tables.

Percentages were worked out on the basis of Actual Totals, i.e. the number of chiefs in each class in the sample. The refusal rate was, however, low and there was little difference between Actual Totals and Totals.

In the case of Tables 4, 5 and 9 the categories are not mutually exclusive, since a man might have worked for the Central Government as well as for a mission for instance (Table 4); or as a clerk as well as a trader (Table 5). He might also be a son of a chief as well as a grandson of another chief (Table 9). Hence the figures do not necessarily total 100%. Where no data are available on specific points for certain chiefs, totals also cannot reach 100%.

THE ALUR

1. AGE

	Class of Chief		
	% of I	*% of II*	*% of both*
21–30 years	0	12·5	10·0
31–40 ,,	0	87·5	30·0
41–50 ,,	50·0	50·0	50·0
51–60 ,,	50·0	0	10·0
Actual Totals	2	8	10

2. EDUCATION

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of both*
None	50	12·5	20·0
Primary	50	87·5	80·0
Actual Totals	2	8	10

3. RELIGION

	Class of Chief		
	% of I	*% of II*	*% of both*
Protestant	0	12·5	10·0
Roman Catholic	100·0	87·5	90·0
Muslim	0	0	0
Actual Totals	2	8	10

4. PREVIOUS EMPLOYER

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of both*
Central Govt.	50·0	37·5	50·0
African Local Govt.[1]	100·0	87·5	90·0
Mission	0	25·0	20·0
Self-employed[2]	0	12·5	10·0
Actual Totals	2	8	10

5. PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of both*
Clerk	50·0	25·0	30·0
Army/Police	0	25·0	40·0
Teacher	0	25·0	20·0
Trader	0	12·5	10·0
Skilled Labourer	0	12·5	10·0
Actual Totals	2	8	10

6. TENURE IN PRESENT POST

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of both*
0–1 years	0	37·5	30·0
2–3 ,,	50·0	25·0	30·0
4–5 ,,	0	12·5	10·0
6–10 ,,	0	12·5	10·0
11–15 ,,	0	12·5	10·0
16–20 ,,	50·0	0	10·0
Actual Totals	2	8	10

[1] 'African Local Govt.' refers to employment other than that of a chief.

[2] 'Self-employed' describes a trader or business man; it excludes peasant cultivators.

7. TOTAL SERVICE AS CHIEF

	Class of Chief		
	% of I	% of II	% of both
0–5 years	0	37·5	30·0
6–10 ,,	50	50·0	50·0
31–35 ,,	50	0	10·0
Actual Totals	2	8	10

8. DESCENT

	% of I	% of II	% of both
Royal[1]	100·0	62·5	70·0
Commoner	0	37·5	30·0
Actual Totals	2	8	10

9. RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER CHIEFS

	% of I	% of II	% of both
Son of chief	50·0	50·0	50·0
Grandson of chief	50·0	12·5	20·0
Actual Totals	2	8	10

Association tests.

Association Tests were done by G. M. Teoh but the results were not significant.

[1] Traditional chiefly dynasties.

Chapter XIV

THE LUGBARA[1]

The Traditional Organization

The Lugbara are a Sudanic-speaking people of the Moru-Madi division of the eastern Sudanic group. They are related linguistically to the Madi to their east and to the Keliko, Logo, Avukaya and peoples under Zande influence to their west. Culturally they have affiliations both with neighbouring Sudanic groups and with the north-western Nilo-Hamites such as the Kakwa, Kuku and other Bari-speakers. They have neither linguistic nor cultural similarities with the Alur and Jonam, the Lwoo-speaking Nilotes who live south of them, nor to the peoples of the remainder of Uganda.

Today the Lugbara live along the high watershed of the Nile-Congo divide, which forms the international boundary between Uganda and the Belgian Congo. Their country—also called Lugbara—covers an area of about 5,000 square miles. They number some 183,000 in Uganda and 58,000 in the Congo, with a few hundred also in the Sudan. The bulk of the population lives on the high plateau to the east of the watershed, at a height above sea-level of from 4,000 to 5,000 feet. There are many permanent streams, a fertile soil and a well-distributed rainfall of some 50 inches a year, and in Uganda the central and most densely populated counties of Ayivu and Maraca contain populations living at a density of over 200 persons to a square mile. Here settlement is both dense and continuous across the gently rolling, open and almost treeless country. Outside these central counties the population is much lower and is also more sporadically distributed on the ground.

[1] Written by John Middleton from field-work data collected December, 1949–April, 1952 as a holder of a Goldsmith fellowship and a Colonial Social Science Research Council grant, and during three months in 1953. He had assistance from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research (New York) in writing up his data.

Lugbara are sedentary agriculturalists, and in the traditional economy most small areas were self-sufficient, economically and socially. There was little trade, except in a few rare objects such as papyrus mats and lumps of iron ore, and the Lugbara seem to have been almost completely isolated from their neighbours, except for the Kakwa to the north. The staples were, and still are, eleusine and sorghums, and although there are cattle, goats and sheep they have never played an important part in Lugbara economy.

Local groups are to a high degree independent, and this independence is reflected in the political structure. There is no single overall political authority, and the few traditional functionaries with political power who exist have an authority that is only vaguely defined and is effective only over a very small territory. Although all Lugbara recognize that they are members of one people, distinct from their neighbours, whether these are ethnically related or not, they have little knowledge of groups that live more than a very few miles away on the open plateau. In the centre of the plateau are the two sacred mountains of the Lugbara. Upon these peaks two hero-ancestors lie buried; they are believed to have entered the area from the north and to have founded Lugbara society in its present form. These mountains provide foci of unity for the people, but members of groups that recognize themselves as being Lugbara may never actually meet, even though their homesteads may be visible one from another. Traditionally a man could be born, live, marry and die without ever travelling more than ten miles or so from his home—although many people did in fact travel great distances on trading expeditions. Today the situation has changed, with the Government prohibition of feud and warfare and the necessity for seeking work for cash.

The basic residential group is a family cluster under the control of an elder. A family cluster averages some fifteen adult men and their families. It is grouped with other like units into larger local groups, which I call minor sections, and these are themselves grouped into major sections. The family cluster is based on a three- or four-generation patrilineal lineage, the elder being the genealogically senior man of this core lineage. Minor and major sections are similarly based upon agnatic lineages, of greater depth. The genealogically senior men of the lineages and sections may act as their ritual representatives, but they have no domestic authority outside their own family clusters. The local groups at all levels may include accessory personnel attached to the lineage core by uterine

kinship ties, usually those of 'sisters' sons'. They are all very small units, a major section consisting of perhaps 1,000 people all told.

Major sections are grouped into tribes, each based upon a patri lineal sub-clan. There are about 45 tribes in the Uganda part of Lugbara, each with some 4,000 people occupying an area of about ten square miles in the densely populated central counties: but towards the periphery a tribal area may be very large and may include much empty land. No larger territorial groups than the tribe are politically significant. Sub-clans ultimately tracing descent from the same ancestry may recognize this common tie and form aggregates that can be described as clans, but these clans are not political units; they are dispersed and, although they may recognize exogamic prohibitions, their members rarely meet.

Tribes are the largest indigenous political units. Within a tribe, fighting could be stopped by the joint curses of the elders of groups directly concerned; but there was no institutionalized way of stopping fighting between units of different tribes. Most fighting in the past was between major sections of the same tribe—when it may be called feud—and between units of different tribes—this may be called warfare. Within major sections, relations are between individuals rather than between groups, in the sense that group interests are not so much concerned and that sanctions for behaviour are mainly religious. Force was only used as a sanction at the higher levels of lineage segmentation, between units of different major sections. The difference in the nature of the ultimate sanction at these two levels is significant in consideration of the position of Government chiefs and headmen today.

In some parts of Lugbara there are other traditional functionaries who possess political significance. These are rainmakers and 'men whose names are known'. Rainmakers, *opi-ezo*, are found mainly in northern Lugbara. They are the genealogically senior men of the senior descent lines of sub-clans, and there is one in each tribe. Their duties are primarily ritual, but in the past they were able to stop fighting within their tribe by cursing the combatants. 'Men whose names are known', *'ba rukuza*, are distributed haphazardly across the tribal organization. They are 'like big trees in the forest' and attract dependants. Their authority is informal and depends mainly on their wealth. They could also stop fighting, although their curses were not so feared as those of rainmakers. The only other people with some political authority were the

prophets, but they appeared only during the period 1900–20, and no longer exist; they need not be considered here.

European Impacts

The Lugbara were first administered by the Belgians, from 1900 until 1908. The eastern part of their country, lying east of the Nile-Congo watershed, was included in the Lado Enclave which was transferred to the Sudan in 1908 and to Uganda in 1914, when it was attached to the West Nile district of the northern province. The western part of the Lugbara country has remained under Belgian administration. Here I consider only the political changes that have taken place in Uganda.

The Belgians set up a small administrative post at Ofude, in north-central Lugbara, in 1900. It was manned by one European officer and a small detachment of troops. There were other posts set up in what is now West Nile district, but this was the only permanent station in Lugbara territory. Administration seems to have been restricted to exacting tax in kind, mainly for the support of the troops. In order to facilitate collection the administrator appointed chiefs, at first at Ofude and later in neighbouring areas. The first chiefs were leaders of the Yakan cult, a cult introduced from the Sudan a few years earlier. It was based on the drinking of magic water as a protection against meningitis and also against the effects of European bullets. Before the rise of the cult these men were well-known *'ba rukuza* ('men whose names are known'), but it seems that because they were cult leaders they were put forward to the Belgians as responsible men.[1] The other local men of standing, the rainmakers, decided not to co-operate with the Belgians in order to protect their rainstones. The leaders of the Yakan cult had assumed a political significance that the rainmakers did not acquire; since they were believed to be able to cope with European contact by magical means, they were also thought to be able to deal with them personally as representatives of the local people.

The new chiefs, known as *makoto* (a Bangala word), were paid in cattle and grain and used their wealth to acquire large numbers of wives. They soon became the richest men in the area and set about putting their sons, brothers and sisters' sons in other administrative positions. By 1908 there were some half-dozen chiefs, each with

[1] See J. H. Driberg, 'Yakan', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. LXI, 1931.

assistants; all, as far as I can discover, were related by fairly close agnatic or uterine kinship. Because of their wealth they soon became to be regarded by the people themselves as upstarts and oppressors. Nevertheless, since they also had roles in the indigenous clan and lineage systems, they were not ostracized or too often disobeyed. Time has mellowed their memory, but the older men who remember them clearly have little good to say of their chiefly activities. Unlike the Belgians and their troops, these chiefs were inside the Lugbara traditional social system and dislike of change could be therefore vented upon them as its nearest agents.

The Sudan administration was purely nominal as far as the Lugbara were concerned, and it was not until 1914 that Mr. A. E. Weatherhead arrived as the first Uganda administrator. He set up a district headquarters at Arua and began to create an administration in place of a mere tax-collecting machine. He took over the chiefs already appointed by the Belgians. They had lost most of their power during the Sudan interregnum but were pointed out to him on his arrival in what was virtually a new and unadministered territory as the chiefs who had had experience of European ways. They were therefore reappointed.

Three main problems faced the first administrators in Lugbara. They had to inhibit the almost continual state of feud and warfare between the many small local groups which composed the society; to establish sufficient contact with the people to enable them to collect food to feed their staffs and enough labour to build communications; and they also had to create a local administrative organization composed of recognizable and permanent units which could be represented by chiefs. Weatherhead stopped serious fighting by a system of policing and of making 'alliances' with certain tribes, which were placed under his protection on the condition that they did not initiate hostility. Communication was not easy, owing largely to difficulties of language—Lugbara and Madi are so different in every respect from the other languages of the Protectorate that interpreters were almost unobtainable. Use was made of the remnants of Emin Pasha's 'Nubi' troops. Some of these were Madi, a few were even Lugbara, and they were used as 'agents', each responsible for an area. Later a single Lugbara 'agent' was appointed from among their number, and was not withdrawn until the late 1920's.

The problem of setting up local administrative units was perhaps the most difficult. The largest indigenous units were the tribes,

small aggregates of some 4,000 people; there were about 45 of them in Weatherhead's territory. As far as can be seen, each tribe had one of its senior members appointed representative,[1] and several tribes were grouped into chiefdoms. Chiefdom boundaries were drawn on geographical grounds, or according to main cultural and dialectal divisions, or in some cases according to local traditions which recognized an early mythical connection between clan groups that lived in one vicinity. There was thus considerable uncertainty as to which chiefdom many tribes belonged, and tribes would change their chiefdom according to the personality of its chief and other factors. This continual realignment continued until very recently.

The Present Administration

By 1920 or so the situation had attained some degree of stability. There were a dozen 'counties', each under a chief, the 'sultan'. Each was divided into three or four 'sub-counties', each under a sub-chief, the *wakil*. Within the sub-county were 'parishes',[2] under a chief called *mukungu*, and under him were several 'head-men' or *nyapara*. The sub-chiefs were the highest authorities set over indigenous units, in that in most cases a sub-county was coterminous with a tribe. Parishes seem usually to have been coterminous with major sections.

This organization has persisted to the present day, with a continual process of amalgamation of units at all levels for greater administrative convenience. There are now five counties in Uganda Lugbara, each with from three to five sub-counties. Whereas the average population of one of the originally created counties was about 15,000, it is now between 25,000 and 40,000. County chiefs are now known as *opi*, a Lugbara word used for rainmakers and 'men whose names are known' generically, and sub-chiefs are *joago*, a Nilotic word much disliked by Lugbara. Parish chiefs and headmen are called by their original names.

With the amalgamation of administrative units has gone an increase in local government staff at the chiefly and sub-chiefly levels: parish chiefs and headmen have no official staff. The first

[1] They were no longer necessarily related by kinship, although several were in fact linked by uterine ties.

[2] A misleading term, with little or nothing in common with an English parish.

chiefs appointed advisers from their own kin and close friends; these were unpaid and unrecognized by the Government but wielded considerable authority. They also had tribal police, chosen from among kin and friends.[1] Today a county chief has several clerks responsible for taxes, court records, organization of labour for public works and so on, and may have half a dozen police at his headquarters, which is thus quite a large cluster of buildings. A sub-chief has one or two clerks and two or three policemen. Both chiefs and sub-chiefs have councillors who meet regularly—councils were established a few years ago to advise chiefs as to public opinion. There are also rest-camp caretakers, market and beer-club supervisors and other functionaries within a chiefdom and responsible to the chief. There are representatives of the district council and the Protectorate Government, such as forestry and agricultural assistants, who work in association with the chiefs but are not under their direct control.

Above this level are the district commissioner and his staff (European), and that of the district council, with a district paramount chief, judge, secretary and other officials (all African). These officials are drawn from the chiefly bureaucracy, by rotation or more permanent appointment, and chiefs are formally responsible to the council. West Nile district includes peoples other than the Lugbara, and these officials are drawn from all the tribes in an unofficial rotation.

The roles of these various functionaries differ considerably. Chiefs and sub-chiefs have officially recognized courts and only they can award officially recognized punishments of fines and imprisonment. Above them are district courts, which are primarily appeal courts, but with sole jurisdiction in respect of certain offences that cannot be dealt with by chiefs' courts. County chiefs' courts are primarily appeal courts from sub-chiefs' courts, which meet regularly, usually once a week. Chiefs at both levels have lock-ups in which to incarcerate remand and short-term prisoners. They are also responsible to the Protectorate Government and to the African Local Government at the district level for administrative measures such as tax-collection, inspection and collection of famine crops, sleeping-sickness inspection and bush-clearing, latrine- and waterhole-digging and so on. They are in most cases not only the agents of

[1] They are quite distinct from the Protectorate police stationed at district headquarters and a few other posts and under direct control of the Protectorate Government.

the Administration in their areas, but also of specialized services of the Central Government. They act as representatives of their people and guardians of their interests at district and other councils. Chiefs and sub-chiefs are salaried officials and liable to promotion and demotion, and to movement from one area to another, within both Lugbara and West Nile district,[1] and also to dismissal.

The lower administrative functionaries are different, in that they act as agents of the chiefs and that they appear to the people to be directly responsible to them. In most cases they are in fact appointed by the chiefs. They have neither institutionalized courts nor power of fining, although they may have considerable authority, which will lead to strong public disapproval of an evil-doer.[2] They hold informal meetings, or moots, at which matters of judicial and administrative importance are discussed. Any civil case is discussed at a moot before being taken to the sub-chief's court, and the parish chief and headmen usually try to settle cases at this first stage by amicable agreement. If they cannot do so, then they act as sponsors for the people concerned at the court, and a sub-chief may rely largely on their opinions as to the merits of a case. Parish chiefs and headmen are responsible to the chiefs for apprehending criminals, for ensuring that taxpayers and labourers on work of public importance appear where required at the proper time, and for acting as their people's general representatives to the chiefs. Much of their work is done at beer-parties and on other informal occasions. Councillors are selected from men of local importance. They often include representatives of special interests, such as mission schools, or they are ex-headmen and ex-sub-chiefs who have been dismissed or have retired. They meet regularly and play an important part in the system of communication between chief and people.

Lugbara distinguish between the two grades of higher chiefs on the one hand and the parish chiefs and headmen on the other. The former are known generically as 'chiefs' (*cifu*) and are also known as *mundu*, the term used for Europeans with authority and status in the present governmental system or for persons such as missionaries whose position is to some extent supported by the Central Government. It is used also for those Africans who are regarded as

[1] In 1953 there was one Lugbara sub-chief in Kakwa and one Kakwa sub-chief in Lugbara. The experiment was working much better than had at first been foreseen.

[2] Such a man usually takes the opportunity provided by labour migration to leave home for a time.

being in the same system. Chiefs are distinguished as a category apart from the lower functionaries who are not called by these terms—although the position of a parish chief, *mukungu*, is often marginal. In this essay I shall refer to county and sub-county chiefs as 'chiefs', and to parish chiefs and headmen as 'headmen', since they form two clearly distinguishable categories.

Duties of the Chiefs

The most important part of the political role of chiefs, as far as Lugbara are concerned, is its judicial aspect. There have always been disputes to settle, both before and after the coming of the Europeans, but Lugbara see the chiefs' purely administrative actions as being extraneous to everyday life.

The new judicial machinery consists of two parts which interact. One includes the courts of the chiefs and those of the district commissioner and district judge; the other, the moots summoned by headmen, at which councillors and elders of the area attend. Civil cases are first discussed at moots, even where the parties are of different administrative divisions. Headmen try to settle as many disputes as they can before the parties go to the courts and the disputes become proper cases at law. Records are not kept at moots, but I estimate that perhaps half are settled at this stage. Administrative offences are dealt with by direct summons to a chief's court and are not discussed at moots.

In the indigenous system disputes were settled by the exercise of force or of religious sanctions, depending on the lineage relationship between the parties concerned. The nature of the remedial action was determined by that relationship rather than by the intrinsic nature of the offence. The traditional principle is still to a large extent operative. Today those cases that would traditionally have been settled by the use of socially approved force are tried by Government courts supported by sanctions introduced by the Government. The traditional cases so resolved are adultery, divorce, seduction and other cases to do with bride-wealth and rights in women, all cases between groups not related by ties of close kinship. Figures taken from court records during 1953 show that about 60% of the civil cases tried were between members of different major sections, the units between which relations lack ritual content and which are traditionally controlled by force. Those cases traditionally resolved by religious sanctions and concerned mainly

with the maintenance of kinship authority, such as disobedience to senior kin, or impiety to the dead, are still settled in the traditional manner by the use of traditional sanctions and they are not the concern of the courts or moots. The chiefs' courts today have thus taken over one of the more important functions formerly performed by inter-group fighting. In the sense that fighting provided a sanction for inter-group relations, so today does the power of these courts. In both cases organized force is used to settle disputes, but the source and control of the force has changed.

There is a direct relationship between this situation and the difference in status and role of chiefs and of headmen. Until Lugbara society changes its structure radically, a headman cannot be in charge of a unit greater than a tribe at the most. These and major sections are the political units in the sense that they are concerned in conflicts that are canalized upwards by moots. It is chiefs who settle disputes (concerned mainly with rights in women) between these political units, and there is a minimum size for the units over which they have direct authority. They must be above the parties and so impartial, in a structural sense; whereas headmen need not be so—and in fact cannot be so—since they act as sponsors or representatives for political units.

The judicial role of chiefs is only one aspect of their total political role, although for Lugbara it is the most important. Lugbara do not see the present political system as a single whole, although they are caught up in it in every part of their lives. The political structure has changed during the past 50 years as a result of the creation of a centralized administrative system, with the district commissioner at the apex of the administrative pyramid. Yet Lugbara themselves still conceive of politics in traditional terms, as consisting of relations between units in a system without centralized political authority. Chiefs play new roles, for which the Lugbara have no place in their conception of their own society. On the whole they consider their chiefs to be on the side of the Europeans in any conflict of interests that may arise between the Central Government and the people. In this context it is the headmen who are thought to be their representatives, while the chiefs are considered rather as the agents of a government set above the people.

The position of the chief—and especially of the sub-chief, who comes into greater everyday contact with the people than does the county chief—is extremely difficult. Chiefs must be impartial triers

of cases that would formerly have been settled by force and so they must be above the interests of local groups; yet they are expected to behave as true Lugbara, as kin and neighbours. The ideal is thought to be that of some of the past county chiefs, who were local men with smaller chiefdoms than the present ones. They saw the relationship as of chief and followers in terms of kinship and neighbourhood and could play the role of chief in these terms. This is impossible for the modern chief, who has had to become a bureaucrat; his relationships with his people are impersonal, into which kinship and neighbourhood considerations should not enter. The fact that his people may be his kin is not recognized by the Government, although the chief and his kin are only too aware of these ties, and kinsmen expect their chief to give them preferential treatment. With the greater development of an administrative bureaucracy the difficulty of the chief's position increases. Formerly the administrative role and the kinship and general social roles were hardly kept apart. Today there is an increasingly sharp distinction between them. I suggest that as this difficulty increases so does the rate of movement of chiefs—and especially sub-chiefs—both from one post to another and also from sub-chieftainship to positions outside the chiefly hierarchy altogether.

Until very recently all appointments as chief, of either grade, were made by the district commissioner, who also confirmed or vetoed the appointments of headmen made by the chiefs themselves. Today appointments at the highest level are made by the district council and district commissioner in consultation, and lower appointments by various elective procedures. In effect, however, headmen are still appointed by the chiefs in consultation with their councils.

It is clear from past district records that there has been a general tendency to make the senior chiefs' posts hereditary. This has been accentuated by the obvious desire on the part of the chiefs that this should be so. Hereditary succession has occurred in several instances. Of the five present county chiefs two are sons of former county chiefs and one of a very important 'man whose name is known', who was also a sub-chief in the early days of the Administration. The first county chiefs appointed at the beginning of the century were soon regarded as being in the pay of the Europeans, and became highly unpopular. As I have said, they were originally put forward by the people because they had been among the leaders of the Yakan cult. This cult had died out after

1900, when its leaders became Government chiefs, but it revived about 1915 and culminated in a revolt at Udupi in 1919, which was crushed by Government police. The leaders in 1919 were almost all these same chiefs, for very few of them were not involved. They seem to have acted thus partly in an effort to regain prestige and the confidence of their people. Many of them were dismissed after the revolt, and some deported outside the district, and this seems to have helped them regain their popularity. Some of them remained as chiefs for twenty years and this was an important factor in their pretensions to hereditary status. They tried to prolong high status by ensuring that their sons succeeded them. They have also tried to select sub-chiefs and parish chiefs from among their kin, and the two of the five county chiefs who have succeeded their fathers in those posts have tried to select all their sub-county and parish chiefs from close kin. They have not been able to do so, owing to the district commissioner's refusal to confirm obviously incompetent young men in high positions, and owing also to popular feeling against some of the appointments. They have had more success in cases where the appointee is not formally set over the people. For example, three of the five non-commissioned officers in the local police, in charge of detachments at county headquarters, are near kin of the chiefs concerned and have followed their eminent relative from one headquarters to another. Today these kin appointments are becoming increasingly difficult, with the greater degree of movement of sub-chiefs. Also, whereas in the past such nepotic appointment had been accepted by the people as being apparently the way of the Europeans, more recently it has been explained to them by the Government that they may choose their own sub-chiefs. In such cases the sons of one or two important chiefs have been beaten at the polls. All the same, these county chiefs have close ties of kinship with other chiefs and in some cases more than one tie simultaneously.

It has not unnaturally been Government policy to select efficient chiefs, and over the years the necessity to decrease the number of chiefs at both levels as the policy of amalgamation has been applied has provided opportunities for discarding the more inefficient ones. The original county chiefs were all 'men whose names are known', and whose names became more known as their wealth increased during their tenure of office. Most were kin; a few were originally Nubian soldiers. They seem all to have been illiterate and uneducated, though by no means hostile to education, which they saw

clearly enough was the road to political advancement. They took the chance to educate their sons and close kin, who thereby became eligible for high position. Today every county chief is an educated man (although not all have more than primary education). They have moved upwards through a mission education, often including several years of teaching, followed by training in junior grades of the local government service within the district. Most have held their present position for over five years and have held chieftainships for over ten. One or two may be unsophisticated and accept traditional religious beliefs, but none the less the missions have provided their means of advancement. They are in frequent and confidential contact with Europeans and exercise very considerable and often autocratic authority. They are among the few wealthy men of the community.

There have always been many sub-county chiefs, and originally they represented the larger tribes. There seems to have been a good deal of attention paid to local opinion by the Administration when selecting sub-chiefs, and many of the earlier ones were chosen on account of genealogical status, personality and other factors, but hardly for educational ability: their clerks took care of registers and records. They have almost all been dismissed today, and sub-chiefs are now younger and well-educated men by local standards. They are mostly under 40, with at least primary education; several have secondary education. Like the county chiefs they tend to have worked in Government and missions. Most have held their present posts for less than five years, and most have been sub-chiefs or parish chiefs in other areas. Most are related to other chiefs, but few have ties of kinship with their subjects. Movement is considerable. I estimate, from the district records, that whereas in 1939 sub-chiefs had held their posts for a period of on the average six years, in 1953 it was a period of three years.[1]

Every county in Lugbara contains a few ex-sub-chiefs who have been discarded in the continual reshuffling of personnel at this level. As far as I can discover, the reasons have almost always been inefficiency as expressed in illiteracy and drunkenness. They are today usually still regarded by the people as big men whose words are listened to; they are generally councillors and their words carry great weight in court. I know of two cases in which they do in fact

[1] One or two sub-counties have always had Muslim sub-chiefs and their position is somewhat different, as they are not so liable to movement or promotion.

still carry out most of the judicial work of the sub-chief, although they are not recognized by the Administration, who deal with the figurehead sub-chiefs only. Such ex-sub-chiefs tend often to lead the discontent against the local administration.

Chiefs also have attributes that emphasize their difference from and opposition to traditional functionaries and headmen. Chiefs and their clerks and senior police (both the latter having considerable power) are literate members of a bureaucracy. They are representatives of the *'ba odiru*, the 'New People', the educated and semi-educated protégés of the Europeans. New People are becoming a distinct group found in every Lugbara chiefdom and they regard themselves as members of a class and as distinct from the local inhabitants. They tend to regard their own clan and lineage ties as comparatively unimportant; their families intermarry, they attend the same schools and they are even becoming conscious of having ties with similar people outside the borders of Lugbara. They are moved from one area to another in the course of their work. They provide the lower administrative officials of the Central Government, the teachers and traders, and are of necessity associated with either the Government or the missions, the sources of power and education. They are differentiated from other people also by their ordinary behaviour, their way of life and dress, and, if they are Government servants, by occupying the new tiled brick houses built for them by the district council.

Beneath the level of the county and sub-county chiefs are parish chiefs and headmen. They are the relatively uneducated and 'traditional' members of the administrative system. They have ties with local groups which rarely extend outside traditional limits and they are associated with traditional Lugbara groupings and not with a single class which spreads across them. In contrast to the New People, they are often referred to as 'our people', *'ba amani*.

Parish chiefs are in a marginal position. There are two categories of parish chief, the young man working his way upwards and the older man who will stay in his post until his retirement. The former have primary education; most of the latter have none and may not even know Swahili, the Government lingua franca. They represent indigenous political units, possess detailed local knowledge and generally have the confidence of the people, all attributes essential to their being able to control the activities of moots. Most have been employed in no other post, although experience in the less

educated sections of government, such as the police, may have helped in their initial appointment. Most of them have been in their posts for ten or a dozen years, and few are moved from one post to another. Relatively few are related to chiefs, but all have close kinship ties with the people over whom they have authority. They do their work informally in people's homes or at traditional meeting-places and they have no offices or even emblems of office.

Lugbara assume, sadly, that the numbers of such parish chiefs and headmen are declining and that they must give way to younger New People. But any attempt by chiefs to install New People at this level is met with considerable hostility. The loyalties of New People are thought to have changed and they themselves to have risen above the sense of personal responsibility towards members of their own kin groups. The parish chiefs realize this, of course, and see their traditional status as the controllers of such political power as formerly existed threatened and to a large extent superseded by that of the chiefs, who control the distribution of the new power that comes ultimately from the Europeans. The parish chiefs' powers to arbitrate at moots are important to them in this respect and they try to settle as many cases as possible and to enter as sponsors into as many others as they can.

With the present-day development of local government from a system concerned primarily with the transmission of orders downwards to a more complex one concerned with the new and manifold tasks of modern local administration and social development, there goes the greater transfer of power to the New People. Change in Lugbara is generated from above, and the New People are the only ones in contact with its source. They are the people who can manipulate the new bureaucratic machinery of government. At present it is Government policy to appoint promising young chiefs and officials to temporary posts at the African Local Government headquarters in Arua; after a period they return to chiefly duties and may be promoted. There are no such openings for the 'traditional' headmen, who tend to stay in the same posts, whereas formerly they might have hoped for promotion to junior chiefly ranks. This is becoming less possible, in spite of the decrease in nepotic appointments. The road to promotion today lies not through training at the headman level but by becoming clerks and teachers, the posts held by junior New People. The only way a headman can maintain his vanishing authority and status is not to vie with the New People but to become one himself. And in so doing he loses the

confidence and support of 'his' people, who have not yet realized the nature of the change that is taking place.

Also, it is only the New People who can move out of the administrative system to gain power in other ways. So far in West Nile district there has been little opportunity for people to acquire money or power outside Government and missions, and only the former has been able to provide a reasonable official salary. But it may be assumed that if the wealth of the area increases there will be more outside work. However, it is clear that men must become New People in order to attain this. At present the only spheres other than petty trading open to men who wish to break away from traditional occupations are centred on supporting or opposing mission activities, and here New People hold the power. Also, whatever movements of this kind have appeared in the area have all originated outside the district, among non-Lugbara, who are linked with New People in local opinion.

NOTE ON TABLES

The figures refer to the situation in 1953.

The Sample.

This sample is not a random one. Class I consists of a total sample of all five county chiefs in Lugbara. Class II consists of eight chiefs, four from one county, two each from two other counties. This gives eight out of the total number of fourteen sub-county chiefs. Class III includes ten out of eleven parish chiefs in three sub-counties and Class IV eight out of 24 headmen in those counties. The numbers are too small to make the calculation of percentages very valuable, but these figures have nevertheless been added for comparative purposes.

The Categories.

Percentages were worked out on the basis of Actual Totals i.e. the number of chiefs of each class in the sample. The refusal rate was, however, low and there was little difference between Totals and Actual Totals.

In the case of Tables 4, 5 and 8 the categories are not mutually exclusive, since a man might have worked for the Central Government as well as for a mission for instance (Table 4); or as a clerk as well as a teacher (Table 5). He might also be a son of a chief as well as a brother-in-law of another chief (Table 8). Hence the figures do not necessarily total 100%.

THE LUGBARA

1. AGE

	Class of Chief				
	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
21–30 years	20·0	25·0	20·0	50·0	29·0
31–40 ,,	20·0	62·5	30·0	—	29·0
41–50 ,,	20·0	—	30·0	12·5	16·0
51–60 ,,	40·0	12·5	20·0	35·5	25·8
Actual Totals	5	8	10	8	31

2. EDUCATION

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
None	—	—	40·0	75·0	32·2
Primary	60·0	62·5	60·0	25·0	51·6
Secondary	40·0	37·5	—	—	16·1
Actual Totals	5	8	10	8	31

3. RELIGION

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
Pagan	—	—	10·0	37·5	12·9
Protestant	40·0	37·5	40·0	25·0	35·5
Roman Catholic	40·0	50·0	30·0	25·0	35·5
Muslim	20·0	12·5	20·0	12·5	16·5
Actual Totals	5	8	10	8	31

4. PREVIOUS EMPLOYERS

	% of I	*% of II*	*% of III*	*% of IV*	*% of all*
Central Govt.	—	25·0	20·0	12·5	16·3
African Local Govt.[1]	60·0	12·5	—	—	12·9
Mission	20·0	37·5	20·0	—	19·3
European/Asian	20·0	—	—	—	3·2
Self-employed[2]	—	25·0	60·0	87·5	48·3
Actual Totals	5	8	10	8	31

[1] 'African Local Govt.' refers to employment other than that of chief.
[2] 'Self-employed' includes peasant cultivators.

5. PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT — *Class of Chief*

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
Clerks	80·0	50·0	—	—	16·3
Police/Army	—	12·5	20·0	12·5	12·6
Inspectors[1]	—	12·5	—	—	3·2
Teacher/Clergy	20·0	37·5	20·0	—	19·5
Unskilled worker	—	25·0	60·0	87·5	48·3
Skilled worker	—	—	—	—	—
Domestic servant	—	—	—	—	—
Actual Totals	5	8	10	8	31

6. TENURE IN PRESENT POST

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
0–1 years	20·0	25·0	20·0	—	16·3
2–3 ,,	—	50·0	10·0	12·5	19·3
4–5 ,,	20·0	12·5	—	12·5	9·6
6–10 ,,	40·0	—	40·0	37·5	29·0
11–15 ,,	20·0	—	20·0	25·0	16·3
Over 15 years	—	12·5	10·0	12·5	9·6
Actual Totals	5	8	10	8	31

7. TOTAL SERVICE AS CHIEF

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
0–5 years	—	50·0	30·0	25·0	29·0
6–10 ,,	40·0	37·5	40·0	37·5	38·7
Over 10 years	60·0	12·5	30·0	37·5	32·3
Actual Totals	5	8	10	8	31

8. RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER CHIEFS

	% of I	% of II	% of III	% of IV	% of all
Son of chief	60·0	50·0	20·0	—	29·0
Grandson of chief	—	—	—	—	—
Brother-in-law of chief	40·0	12·5	10·0	—	12·6
Sister's son of chief	40·0	25·0	20·0	12·5	22·5
Actual Totals	5	8	10	8	31

Association tests were not done.

[1] 'Inspectors' refers to any supervisory work, e.g. as a health, agriculture or education inspector, or a foreman.

Some Conclusions and Comparisons

Chapter XV

SOME CONCLUSIONS

This book describes the political evolution of fourteen East African tribes. Nine of these tribes were kingdoms or multi-kingdoms, the eight Interlacustrine Bantu and the Sukuma; four were segmentary societies, the Gisu, Kiga, Lugbara and Amba; and one a segmentary state, the Alur. Reconstructions of the political development of these tribes have been attempted and, in the case of the larger kingdoms, at any rate, there is sufficient historical evidence to enable us to sketch the growth of these small monarchies and empires in broad outline. This comparative study therefore gives us an opportunity of making some generalizations on political processes in a group of African societies, taking for variables the principles of social grouping in the tribe, its pattern of immigration and conquest and the economic resources of the area which it occupies. Such generalizations will naturally interest first and foremost the student of African societies, but they should also raise points of comparison for specialists in the constitutional history of Europe in pre-feudal or early feudal days. Comparisons on these lines are attempted in the chapter that follows.

Our chosen tribes have also been under European administration for 50–60 years, and some under two such forms of government, one German and one British or one Belgian and one British. British administrations have everywhere amalgamated small units into large, and made a uniform pattern of first, second and third level chiefdoms from a heterogeneous collection of tiny polities. They have used traditional authorities, but have persistently tried to turn them into executive officials with welfare functions, either by manipulating hereditary systems to get the type of chief they

wanted, by influencing the selection of chiefs, or by introducing new methods of chosing authorities. These administrative changes were made slowly in the early years of contact, but at an increasing tempo recently following the Secretary of State's dispatch on local government to all British colonies in Africa in 1947. In all the selected tribes major constitutional changes were planned or had already taken place during the years in which they were studied.[1]

The extent to which trained civil servants have replaced indigenous authorities in the machinery of African Local Government is the subject of this book, and the balance between traditional and modern at different levels of local administration has been described in the case of each tribe. The material shows that African political structures of different types react differently to British administrative policies; some traditional machinery of government fits more easily into the British pattern than others and some African political values are more compatible than others with our own. Hence these essays suggest some generalizations, however superficial, that should be of interest to the specialist in comparative administration.

Lastly career histories of tribal authorities show the type of man who is now doing duty as a chief, and whether there are any general tendencies towards the appointment of young or old men, educated or uneducated, hereditary authorities or those specially selected for aptitude, and they should also indicate the level at which these changes are taking place.

In the anthropological field the most interesting generalizations come from the study of the largest group, the Interlacustrine Bantu. Here a continuous process of immigration of small groups of a clan or lineage type into the fertile belt surrounding Lake Victoria has produced social structures that are unusual in Bantu Africa, unusual because some of the migrants, those now called Hima, Huma or Tusi, were distinct in cultural and physical type, and since they refused for some hundreds of years to intermarry with the neighbouring peoples[2] they remained apart, either as a

[1] E.g. the Wallis Report on African Local Government in Uganda, 1953; the Hancock Committee on Buganda government reforms in 1954; and various schemes for constitutional changes in tribal constitutions in Tanganyika tribes which have been proposed by H. Cory, Government sociologist to the Tanganyika Government, especially in the case of Buhaya and Busukuma.

[2] The rule against intermarriage between Hima and Iru was still operative at the end of the nineteenth century when the first European observers described it.

ruling group, a caste, or a sub-culture with its own occupational specialization of cattle-herding.[1]

These continuous waves of immigration, which cannot be described with any certainty on the basis of our present knowledge, have produced a tiered structure based on order of conquest or merely of arrival in the district. There was a two-caste system of Hima and Iru in Ankole, and in Buha the inhabitants were divided into Tusi rulers and Ha commoners. There was something like a three-caste system in Buhaya, Bunyoro and Toro where Bito ruled; Hima held high prestige and only intermarried with Hima or Bito; and the Iru came below. But the grades between the castes were numerous and probably altering constantly.

Clans tend, or rather tended, to be arranged in order of precedence based on the supposed date of their ancestors' arrival in the country, or their relationship to the king. Among the tribes where caste-like strata were recognized, as in Buhaya or Buzinza, there were royal clans (Hinda and Nkango), Hima clans and Iru clans and royal clans of mixed origin. In Buganda, Busoga, Bunyoro and Toro 'the clans that were found', that is to say, found by the ancestors of the present dynasty, were remembered, together with groups of clans which came with subsequent monarchs and were given land by them.[2] By the end of the nineteenth century, when kingship was firmly established in one dynasty in Buganda and Bunyoro, clans certainly held precedence according to the service their leaders had rendered to their king, either by providing him with a favourite or notable wife, or by showing him loyalty in war. They claimed ritual privileges at court for the same variety of reasons and valued these privileges because they provided permanent access to the king.

Membership of a royal clan gave superior status throughout this group, while direct agnatic descent from the royal line gave differential access to political positions such as rule over administrative districts or personal estates. Among all the Interlacustrine Bantu there is a distinction between the princes of direct descent, usually called 'princes of the drum', and those

[1] Cf. the position of the 'cow Fulani', immigrants who have remained culturally distinct from the indigenous populations in North Nigeria.

[2] What sounds in the legends like a regular order of arrival with one king or another is probably a precedence scale reached after fighting and the up and down of one clan as against another. Later there was certainly a reorientation of all clans round the person of the king, in which alliances by provision of royal wives played an important part.

merely belonging to the royal clan—'just princes' or 'peasant princes'.

The rulers of these tribes were not members of the communities they governed in the sense that, for instance, the clan elders of Bugisu were related by kinship to those among whom they had pre-eminence. The Interlacustrine kings and princes apparently tried to identify themselves with the people over whom they ruled by adopting the taboos of their predecessors (cf. p. 33), by reciting myths of common origin and by a conscious policy of intermarriage with the girls of the different local clans, but even from an administrator's point of view Hailey finds it necessary to distinguish between the tribes of south and north Uganda on this very basis of the absence of sense of community between chief and people.[1] Akpan claims that the democracy of some of the Nigerian tribes he discusses was due to the fact that 'the chief was one of the people, derived of, and related by blood to them' and hence 'obliged to consult, and act in accordance with the people's wishes'.[2] This form of democratic control of rulers did not, of course, exist among the Interlacustrines. Many of their rulers were, as we have seen, extremely autocratic, particularly those of Buganda, and it was this type of authority which made it possible for monarchs to introduce so many changes in tribal custom, as for instance was done by Mutesa I of Buganda who changed the succession from brother to brother to a modified form of primogeniture, set up the first market in Kampala, introduced a royal bodyguard or regular army, and influenced the practice of the *lubale* cult.

It is likely that it was also the strong position occupied by these royal dynasties which made it possible for the Interlacustrine kingdoms to absorb people of different cultures as happened in Bunyoro, Buzinza and elsewhere and is still occurring in areas such as Buganda in which men and women of other tribes are settling in large numbers at the present day. All these characteristics of the tribal structure derive mainly from the pattern of immigration and conquest in this area and they all affect the problems of the British administrator in the region.

The conquerors achieved their powers at first by giving out lordships over land to kinsmen or to those who had come to their help, or, in the western tribes, by giving out cattle. The multiple king-

[1] Hailey, M. (Lord), *Native Administration in the British territories in Africa*, 1950, Part I, p. 2.

[2] N. U. Akpan. *Epitaph to Indirect Rule*, 1956, pp. 32–3.

doms of this region seem to have been formed in the first instance by the handing out of new territory to sons and brothers. Legend says, for instance, that the country which is now Buhaya consisted of eight little kingdoms ruled by the sons of Ruhinda, who received land from their 'father' as he conquered it. The petty kingdoms of Buzinza grew in a similar way. The 47 tiny states that make up Busukuma seem to have come into being also by the secession of princes to form separate kingdoms of their own. In Buganda and Bunyoro the position was somewhat different. Here royal princes seem to have had pretensions to the throne in the early days, probably during the seventeenth century, and princes of the blood then fought their brothers for the throne in both these tribes. But, as the kingship became established, the princes were relegated to small estates of their own, and during the nineteenth, and probably also the eighteenth century, many of them were put to death by each new king who wished to rid himself of possible rivals as he ascended the throne.

In all these tribes, kings and kinglets seem to have felt the need to bolster up their powers as against the hereditary elements, not only the princes, but also the different clan authorities who formerly ruled in semi-independent fashion over their own people. The followers or clients whom the rulers appointed as administrative heads over districts or groups of villages, or to executive posts at the capital were the men on whom they began to rely for support. It is in fact the balance of power between these two elements, the hereditary and the appointed, which makes for the variation in the pattern of these conquest states. In Buhaya for instance the different elements seem to have been imposed each on top of the other in alternate layers. The princes and the royal favourites were both present at the capital as advisers, councillors or assistants, but the governors over districts were king's nominees, while princes ruled over groups of villages under them assisted by their own clients or supporters. In Busoga hereditary kinglets ruled with a mixture of princes and appointed chiefs, many of the latter acquiring hereditary rights. In Buzinza princes and nobles who had established hereditary claims to districts were supposed to be able to pass on their position to their heirs, but in those unstable little kingdoms a hereditary succession does not seem to have established itself at all firmly. In Buha clients who had been given land became a hereditary nobility and in Toro governors of the king were not often transferred and they tended to acquire hereditary rights. In

Buganda at the other end of the scale hereditary elements were eliminated more completely than in any other tribe in the group, and this is probably the reason that the king's power was more absolute here than in the rest of the region by the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Clan leaders had first ruled over the people who lived on lands which they had either successfully defended from the conquerors, or received as rewards for helping them, and they continued to receive new estates during the first expansion of the kingdom. Later every effort was made to reduce their powers and they were ousted from their positions by king's nominees appointed as governors over districts, no doubt first over conquered land on the borders but finally over all parts of Buganda. Some fiefs and benefices established by the Kabaka certainly became hereditary but later rulers were on the watch against this happening. Indeed during the reign of Mutesa I clan leaders asserted their position in relation to the king, to whom they were linked by marriage and for whom they performed ritual offices, and he evidently used them as spies on the governors and sub-governors he had himself appointed.

The balance of power in these Interlacustrine states was thus an intricate and curious one. In most of the tribes described here the clan leaders remained as a separate, and sometimes one might even call them a submerged, set of authorities reporting direct to the king and not to the administrative heads he had set up. In Buganda, Busoga and Buhaya they had their own informal courts at different levels of segmentation, maximal, major and minimal, where intra-clan disputes and matters of succession were dealt with. In Buganda these courts have now become formalized and they hold meetings at regular intervals. In most of the tribes clans claimed the right to perform ritual functions at the capital or were in charge of special cults such as the Chwezi rites in Bunyoro, Toro and Buhaya. At the territorial level clan leaders (*bakuru b'enganda*) acted and still act as village headmen in Buhaya. In Buganda heads of clan estates (*bataka*) rule over the peasants on these lands, as well as giving judgement in the affairs of the clan or segment members scattered widely over the country. Clan authorities continue to assert their rights up to the present day, specially in Buganda where they have formed the focus of local resentments against recognized authorities, African or European, and have even played a part in modern party politics.

Apart from the position of the clan leaders the political organiza-

tion of the Interlacustrines seems to have depended on an elaborate system of checks and counter-checks. In Buganda we have seen how clan heads, king's favourites and warriors competed for office at the Kabaka's pleasure. The king appointed governors to administer districts and then gave fiefs or benefices in the same districts to men who rendered service direct to him, and not to the appointed governor. Finally he appointed his own army head over a series of divisional captains who collected their own local troops for a central army, in addition to the county forces collected by governors as part of their customary service. Thus the system consisted of a series of separate but overlapping pyramids of authority all centred on the monarch. There were the clan leaders and their subordinate lineage heads; the king's benefice and fief-holders with their personal followers; the king's army head and the latter's local representatives. At the district level the members of each hierarchy spied on representatives of other hierarchies and obtained favour by betraying rival dignitaries to the king.[1]

The centring of these different authority structures on the person of the monarch was one of the characteristic features of the Interlacustrines though the Ganda system was no doubt the most elaborate. In Northern Rhodesia the kingdom of the Bemba was kept united by the strong belief of the people in the ritual powers of their king. All district chieftainships were filled by princes of the blood who moved in succession by genealogical seniority from one chieftainship to another. Clan leaders were unimportant politically and king's favourites never held office. A royal dynasty in control of all territorial posts seem to have been sufficient to achieve centralization of a loose type. Zulu kings admitted the rule of hereditary chiefs over 'sub-tribes' and these rulers were descendants of princes or clan leaders who had originally been given districts to rule by the king of the time. They remained in control after the war-like king Shaka had instituted a regiment system and recruited an army by a nation-wide call-up of young men on an age-grade basis. This gave him centralized authority. He also contracted marriages of alliance with each sub-tribe. The Interlacustrine Bantu who managed to build up kingdoms, achieved centralization over a period of two or three hundred years by a gradual elimination of the power of hereditary elements, so that every man of ambition

[1] Important dignitaries often played dual or triple roles, i.e. a man might be a clan head and also a governor of a county; or a fief-holder, a liturgical functionary and the head of a lineage.

in the nation depended on the king for office, and those at a local level on the governor, sub-governor or lord to whom they were attached. The authorities in the different hierarchies in the political structure competed for the king's favour and watched and reported on each other in an effort to obtain a reputation for loyalty to the king. Descent groups were also united to the king by an institutionalized series of marriages.

As to the monarchy itself, the ritual of kingship varies from tribe to tribe and would merit comparative study in its own right. Suffice it to say that all the rulers in this group have praise names which describe them as somewhat larger than life. Ritual surrounds them and they play an important part in it. In Bunyoro and Ankole the powers of the Mukama or the Mugabe respectively approach to those of a divine king (cf. pp. 101, 148) but in the Buganda of the nineteenth century when the monarchy was firmly established, the Kabaka certainly relied on his armies and his power of distributing land and office rather than on his relationship to the shrines of dead kings or to those of the tutelary deities. In fact Mutesa I is recorded as having treated the priests of the latter very roughly.[1]

The political powers of these kings were very pronounced in comparison to those of other Bantu peoples in East and Central Africa. The machinery of central government consisted of officials congregated at the capital which was the only sizeable settlement in each kingdom. These were councillors, judges, priests or magicians, messengers, executioners, soldiers and the many pages, cooks, stewards and slaves who made it possible to cater for the men assembled in the king's village. A characteristic feature of the Interlacustrine Bantu is the absence of hereditary councillors such as are found among the Bemba, or of any recognized council of senior princes of the blood, such as the small group of the brothers and father's brothers of the king among the Tswana and Sukuma. Nor was there any large tribal council which every adult man could attend, after the pattern of the *pitso* of the Sotho-speaking peoples. The councillors of the Interlacustrines were kings' favourites and governors, or other district rulers living at the court because they

[1] It must be remembered that many African kings depend for their powers on their supposed control of fertility and rainfall. The king of Swaziland is an example, and in Uganda, the chiefs of the Alur. But in the fertile basin of Lake Victoria, rainfall is usually ample and the soil fertile. Most of the national rituals centre round kingship, warfare, health and human fertility, and in Bunyoro and Ankole on the welfare of the cattle.

were afraid their interests would suffer if they kept away. The king himself was equally afraid to have them out of his sight for long. In Bunyoro there were recognized grades of these favourites, the palace functionaries, the king's special favourites and the men whom he had appointed as crown-wearers.

Characteristic also of this group is the appointment of ministers such as the Katikiro of Buganda, Bunyoro and Buhaya, to be over all the district authorities, and in every recorded case the choice of the minister was made from among the clients of the king. Even the princes tended to be centrally controlled. The princes of Buganda, Bunyoro and Toro were under the orders of a special leader[1] with the princesses also under the rule of a senior colleague.

The sending of boys to the king's capital for service and education is also characteristic of this group. Among the Zulu and Swazi all the boys of a given age were called up by the king in regiments and these were summoned to the capital, for instance at the annual *ncwala* ceremony of the Swazi. Some of these might go into 'barracks' at the capital, while others were centred elsewhere. Among the Interlacustrine Bantu, on the contrary, boys were sent to the king's court to increase their father's prestige and to further their own ambition. They used the time of service to advance themselves and the members of their lineage or clan up the political ladder. The system was part of the whole institution of clientship on which political life was based. There was no national army cutting across divisions of rank and kinship.

The political power of the Interlacustrine rulers was also based on the military forces they were able to command. In Buganda and Bunyoro raids on the surrounding tribes seem to have been fairly continuous. Kagwa suggests in fact that the Kabakas of the nineteenth century sent out their armies in one direction or another every six months. The capture of slaves, women and cattle he describes must have been an essential element in the economy of the country and the basis of the system of clientage since kings bound their followers to them by gifts of slaves, women and cattle as well as by the allocation of land. From Ankole cattle raiders brought in booty to the capital and cattle prizes were distributed to the Hima nobility in the same way. Fixed or irregular tribute from surrounding tribes was also obtained by most of the Inter-

[1] In Buganda, the head of the princes' clan, the *ssabalangira*, was under the orders of the *kasujju*, a district governor who was also a clan authority, a segment head of the pangolin clan.

lacustrine peoples. Regular armies kept in permanent existence were a late phenomenon in the region, perhaps limited to Buganda in the middle of the nineteenth century, although Buhaya kinglets may have had small armies based on the regiments described on p. 182. Bunyoro evidently had powerful forces under Kabarega at the end of the nineteenth century but there are very few data available as to their organization.

Turning to the economic factors it is worth noting that most of the Interlacustrine Bantu now live in favourable conditions. It is true that the Ankole were formerly a cattle people who lived a semi-nomadic life. They are still dependent on cattle although most of the herdsmen have now adopted a settled form of existence. But the lake shore belt provided ample rain and fertile soil for subsistence. Agriculture in Buganda, Busoga and Buhaya is profitable and Toro is also potentially rich.[1] The present Bunyoro has less favourable conditions and Buha and Buzinza are relatively inaccessible.

The labour required for subsistence does not seem to have been as exhausting as in other parts of East Africa and this has affected the political system. In the pastoral areas of Ankole, north Bunyoro, Busoga and Buha men seem to have been employed largely in the defence of their herds and in raiding for new beasts: in Ankole this favoured a system in which pastoral lords gave or withheld allegiance as clients of a king who was ultimately the owner of all cattle; they themselves similarly distributed cattle to sub-clients on whom they called for military assistance.

On the lake shore belt the people were mainly plantain eaters. The plantain is a permanent crop and hence the annual clearing of the bush which is necessary in many parts of Africa is avoided. The work was mainly done by women and slaves. A large part of the male population therefore had time for war, for administration and in Buganda for the making of roads. But the plantain, unlike grain, cannot be stored beyond a few days, and hence a system in which authority has the power to command tribute in kind for special occasions was particularly valuable.

With plantain cultivation went the possibility of fixed settlement for many years on end and some of the Buganda villages have been in existence for over 300 years. Large royal villages with permanent

[1] J. M. Fortt has shown how exactly the population varies with the area of high rainfall round the lake. *Economic Development and Tribal Change*, ed. A. I. Richards, 1954, chap. IV.

staffs of officials became possible and hence a centralized government.[1] Once established, the capital of a kingdom like Buganda increased in wealth by attracting the labour of specialist craftsmen from other areas who found a living there.

In these conditions the grant of land as a personal or official estate was naturally much more highly valued than it ever was among the shifting cultivators of East Africa and such a grant bound the holder very closely to his king.

The advent of Arabs and Europeans in the nineteenth century increased the wealth of the already favoured lake-shore tribes. The Arabs were first reported in the region in the reign of Kabaka Suna (1832–57). They introduced guns and extended the range of warfare and the power of the kings who claimed the monopoly over the new arms. Arab dhows are reported as carrying goods on the lake as early as 1882,[2] and the railway from Mombasa to Uganda was completed in 1901.

The British Administration introduced cotton into Buganda, Busoga, Bunyoro and Toro in 1904–5 and coffee production in Buhaya was thrown open to peasants, as distinct from their rulers, about the same time. In all these tribes the introduction of cash crops gave a new value to land, and this gain passed initially to leaders of the traditional type who had lordships over land or who could acquire them, and who still had customary rights over the service of tenants which they could exploit to extend their cultivation and produce hard cash. In Buganda the arrival of the British meant that the existing chiefs acquired freehold tenure over very large estates and hence won economic independence of their monarch: in Bunyoro and Toro, freehold rights were not granted and the kings continued to give out land to princes, princesses and favourites (see pp. 109, 137) in the beginning of this century. In Buhaya the kinglets also gave out *nyarubanja* land to nobles and favourites until 1938, although these estates were small and scattered owing to the sparse distribution of good cultivable land.

The money income derived from these estates enriched the families who already stood high in the social hierarchy and formed the basis of a new ruling class which had differential access to European education, secondary and university, and hence a differ-

[1] Bemba villages, royal or commoner, moved every few years. Capitals do not seem to have housed more than 3–400.

[2] V. C. R. Ford, *The Trade of Lake Victoria*, East African Studies, No. 3, 1955, p. 36.

ential access to posts as chiefs in the new world. In Buganda the income differences were greater because of the large estates involved, but the freehold system made it possible for a peasant to buy land and many did so. Hence in spite of the superior position acquired by the Kabaka of Buganda by the end of the century, the 1900 Agreement completely put an end to his right to give out land, while this prerogative remained a function of kingship in the other tribes. It also increased the social mobility of the peasant who was able to buy land through the sale of his cotton.

The political systems of the Interlacustrines were, as a whole, compatible with the early ideas of British administrators. The existence of autocratic rulers with their chain of territorial subordinates made a convenient and moderately efficient basis of administration. People obeyed the orders of their chiefs and the commands of their kings were never questioned. Territorial officials at all levels had plenty of personnel to help them—itself a function of the ease of agricultural life in that area. Peasants were used to paying tribute to their superiors and in Buganda to a fixed tax; they seem to have accepted calmly the poll tax introduced by the Protectorate Government. Chiefs collected this tax and organized communal labour and introduced cotton or coffee as cash crops. The people were also used to officials appointed at will by their superiors and it seemed natural that the new Administration should approve the selection of men whom they considered to be loyal and efficient to act as their subordinates.

One of the difficulties of the British Administration both in Uganda and Tanganyika was the amalgamation of petty kingdoms into convenient territorial units. Changes of boundary in Buganda seem to have caused little resentment and indeed it was traditional for rulers to carve up land into benefices or fiefs of different sorts. In Busoga, however, the Government had to eradicate the hereditary principle and to turn kinglets into county chiefs over a period of 50 years and this change has not been fully accepted by the Soga In Buhaya hereditary kinglets were kept as chiefs of the Bukoba district although the succession was supervised to get the type of man the Government required. In Buzinza the political system was already in flux, and movements due to sleeping sickness completed the disorganization of the tribal structure. In 1952 only one of the class I chiefs belonged to the ruling dynasty; one was the son of a chief from another tribe appointed by Europeans and one a man newly appointed with no traditional claims to office.

On the whole the hierarchy of political units set up by the Government was accepted with very little opposition, especially in Buganda where leading chiefs had much to gain from it. Smouldering resentment appeared from time to time at lower levels of authority, since the Administration was naturally not aware of the complex customary rights and duties that existed at that level nor the close association between land ownership and political office which persisted in the minds of the people everywhere except in Buganda, where freehold land-tenure was established. Many Nyoro continued to act as 'lords of the land'. Soga village and sub-village chiefs refused to be paid salaries as they wanted to continue to enjoy their old privileges. Authorities in Bunyoro, Toro and Busoga felt they were being asked to do administrative work without the labour and tribute of tenants to which they had been accustomed.

The friction between the European and the African administrations has been at its greatest over the appointment of chiefs. This is natural since sovereignty meant to these peoples the right to hand out authority. In Buganda the friction was probably the worst because of the autocratic powers the Kabaka had achieved before the coming of the British. The Ganda accepted the idea that the Government should favour its own supporters in the early days of the Protectorate, but the Kabaka Daudi Chwa became restless as he reached maturity some twenty years later and friction then became more apparent. Today the concept that chieftainships are rewards for faithful service to the ruler still survives side by side with the newer bureaucratic ideals. Modern political leaders have certainly demanded that they should elect their own chiefs, yet both they and the palace party, if it may be so called, still seem to be thinking in terms of control of patronage rather than in those of civil service reform. It is not at all impossible that 'self-government' as an ideal may mean to the people a return to more traditional bases of selection of chiefs rather than the reverse. That these traditional bases are still very strong is shown by the fact that categories of persons which formerly had easier access to political power still keep this access. In Buzinza 60% of sub-county chiefs are Huma, even though 88% of parish chiefs are Iru, as they were in the old days. In Buhaya the predecessors of the present parish chiefs were princes and today four out of the seven chiefs in the sample are members of the royal clan; the king's governors were non-royal and today two out of three sub-county chiefs are non-

royal. In Busoga the governors under a kinglet were often princes and today 41% of the sub-county chiefs are royals as well as 32% of the parish chiefs. Even in Buganda, where hereditary elements were most successfully eliminated from the administration, some parish chiefs have been appointed because they were the sons of their fathers. Many concealed kinship ties influence appointments in all these tribes.

In spite of these traditional survivals the political systems just described were, broadly speaking, compatible with the early administrative ideals of the Governments concerned. It would be difficult however to imagine systems less in accord with the later British policy of democratic local government which was most strongly advocated in the post-war period. The Administrations were in fact trying to introduce modern ideas of local self-government into some of the most autocratic and centralized forms of government which Bantu societies have evolved.

British Administrations proclaimed for some years the view that demands and schemes should come from the bottom councils to the top instead of orders being issued by the ruler and his prime minister to the people below them. This idea was considered revolutionary, as also was the concept that the chief was to be viewed as the servant of his local council whether at the county, or sub-county level rather than its leader. The introduction of elected members to these councils was also an innovation. Some such 'democratization' of local councils has everywhere taken place although the devolution of powers over local social services has only just begun in some areas. These innovations are viewed by some of the chiefs as a betrayal by the Government of the men who had supported it most loyally, although others have adapted themselves with a surprising rapidity to the changes. In the same way some at least of the elected representatives in Buganda now regard themselves as responsible to their people, while others, and generally the most elderly, consider themselves almost as a new kind of chief and behave somewhat after that pattern.

Unfamiliar again is the notion of a 'constitutional monarch' embodied in the recent Buganda Agreement and in the similar constitutions drawn up for Bunyoro and Toro. Since in these tribes all the hierarchies of power and status, administrative, clan, or military, depended on the monarch, the idea of a king outside politics is a contradiction in terms. Moreover, political elements which had been hostile to the king's power have shown that they

come to put a new value on their monarch when anything threatens the loss of their tribal identity, such as plans for a unified Uganda or a Federation of East Africa. Ganda politicians of every trend united to support their exiled Kabaka. Nyoro, Toro and Soga politicians have repeatedly asked for kings 'like the Kabaka' since they realized the extent to which the ruler of Buganda acted as a symbol of his people and of its separate political existence. Soga have asked for a hereditary ruler instead of rejoicing in their new powers of electing their Kyabazinga. Thus the Interlacustrine monarchs who seemed at first such a convenient means of handing out orders and ensuring their acceptance, now appear, at any rate in Uganda, as obstacles towards a further advance towards the unification of a Protectorate composed of many tribes.

In Sukumaland the monarchies are of a different type. Kinglets here depended more on their ritual powers than did their fellows among the true Interlacustrine Bantu. These ritual powers depended on ancestor worship associated with tracts of land. Sukuma rulers did not achieve the elimination of hereditary elements from the political system as did the kings of the Uganda tribes. They had their royal guards composed of specially loyal warriors and favourites and their headmen, descendants of men who followed them to start new princedoms, but a royal family council composed of brothers, maternal uncles and uterine nephews of the ruler was influential. The powers of each kinglet were kept in check by dance societies and groups of young men, each under its own leaders, and these kept order at the village level. Some princes were said to be afraid of them. Clan heads could also remove their adherents to a new princedom. Thus Sukuma kinglets were not all-powerful as some of the Interlacustrine rulers had become by the middle of the nineteenth century and the 'tribe' is now a collection of 47 little states though this number is reduced from the former figure of 61 and recently a tribal-wide federation of chiefs and councillors has been instituted.

Chiefs are now publicly elected, from a list of candidates acceptable to the Government. Belief in the chief's ritual powers is waning although the rate of paganism in the area is high. His personal guard has been disbanded and his royal family council has little effective power. The young men's groups, which formerly checked his authority, are no longer allowed to exercise power over law and order at the village level. It seems likely that here, as in other areas in which African rulers depend mainly on the belief of

the people in their ritual functions, chieftainship in its present form is unlikely to survive. The whole system seemed less compatible with British ideas of administration than that of the Interlacustrine Bantu, although ultimately it may prove to be more consistent with newer ideas of local autonomy in the administration of social services.

The political development has naturally been different in the case of tribes organized on a segmentary basis. The groups which described themselves as Lugbara, Kiga or Gisu, for instance, were divided into a number of segments, often at war with each other and sometimes themselves split by internecine feuds. The effective political unit was in each case small. The Lugbara were divided into 45 exogamous clans of which members acknowledged a common ancestry but which were dispersed in the country and without institutionalized leadership. The maximal lineage group, the 'tribe' in Middleton's terminology, was about 4,000 strong and each had its 'chief of the rain' whose curses were feared and who could sometimes stop feuding. The effective political unit was the major lineage numbering about 1,000 members and the independence of these small lineage sections was most marked. Not only were there differences in dialect between some of them but Middleton reports that members of homesteads in sight of each other might never meet.

In Bukiga exogamous clans were also unimportant as political units. The effective group for common action was a lineage with a membership of 100 to 1,000 males and a depth of three to four generations. Other orders of segmentation are not explicitly described.

In Bugisu segmentation of named lineage groups seems to have been unusually regular and it was perhaps associated with the planting of a permanent crop, the plantain, and with the joint ownership of land. The lineage was a corporate one with councils and leaders, but even here the effective political unit was not the maximal lineage with a membership of 2,000 to 10,000, or the major, but a minor section which was very small indeed. This was the landowning unit and the group which generally made war on other sections.

In all these areas the initial difficulty of the Administration was to set up any kind of authority for a tribal group which would be effective in keeping law and order and which would make possible the building of roads and other basic services. The first central

authority in each case was the European officer in charge, the British district commissioner with his '*boma*' or government post, his soldiers or police, or in the case of the Lugbara or some of the Alur, his Belgian predecessor.

It is probably for this reason that there is such a marked distinction in these tribes between the higher chiefs imposed by the Administration and closely associated with it in public estimation, and the lower traditional authorities. It is a distinction which exists in most parts of East Africa of course, but it is more marked in the case of the acephalous tribes than in the 'kingdoms' in which British Governments 'recognized' existing rulers although they acquired, as we have seen, a great influence over their selection and appointment. In Lugbara this distinction between the higher and lower chiefs seems to be the most marked and the top chiefs are known as *mundu*, 'Europeans' or those that work with them, as against the lower chiefs who are 'chifu'. The distinction is also strong in Bugisu, and La Fontaine points out in fact that an inevitable result of imposing a centralized tribal government on a system that was traditionally segmentary is the identification of the African higher authorities with the British Government. Chiefs must remain outside the tribal system in such cases. This is a point to which we shall refer again.

A second difficulty in the case of these segmentary tribes is one which is closely connected with the first. It is the fact that in this group of peoples executive authority, as understood for instance in Buganda, hardly existed before the arrival of the Europeans, outside the 'family cluster', to use Middleton's term, or the minimal lineage. The absence of institutionalized leadership is not an essential element of a segmentary system since lineages of different orders of magnitude may accept leadership exerted by the genealogical head of the section and may acknowledge the authority of councils at different levels. This would be true of Bugisu where the recognized head of the minor lineage, the *mugasya*, comes from the senior primary line and one of these *bagasya* may become a *primus inter pares* over the minor sections in a major section.[1]

Nevertheless the leaders so recognized in Bugisu only exercised this authority in the case of war and in the settlement of disputes and each *mugasya* is regarded as the representative of his minor

[1] The Ganda clan system is of a similar kind in that it is a segmentary organization with institutionalized leadership at the three higher levels of segmentation and lineage councils at these same levels.

lineage as over against other such leaders and not as an executive head of the territory, a point which La Fontaine makes clearly.

In Lugbara the curses of elders are sometimes effective in stopping feuds and there is informal arbitration in disputes at all levels, but such leadership as is recognized is in the hands of the 'chiefs of the rain', one to each maximal lineage or tribe, and these may be able to stop fighting, or it is exercised by men whose 'names are known' that is to say known outside that lineage, and who are admired for wealth or personality. The Kiga have also no institutionalized authorities except for rain-makers or 'men of note' and it is not clear whether the genealogical heads of lineage sections have executive powers. Baxter found traces of a system of councils which no longer function. In Bwamba the chief political unit is the village based on the lineage and in this the elders have little more than an influence over discussion.

In order to enforce law and order, to open up communications and collect tax, functions which were new in these areas although they were familiar in the Bantu kingdoms here described, the Administration first relied on officials with long experience in executive positions in these kingdoms, and they mainly came from Buganda. Weatherhead used Lugbara agents in 1914 and also appointed some Nubi. Bugisu relied on Ganda chiefs till 1937. In Bukiga the rule of the Ganda was even longer, owing to an outbreak of a spirit cult thought to need strong administrative control. Bwamba has developed under Toro rule.

In Bugisu the system of new territorial units was at first accepted easily. This was partly due to the personality and experience of Kakunguru, the imported Ganda chief, but also to the fact that the new units parallelled the old land areas associated with lineage sections, that is to say the new parishes corresponded with land areas held by the major lineages; the new sub-counties were the territories of maximal lineages, the new counties corresponded to major linguistic divisions in Bugisu. The villages were communities composed of members of the minor lineage. But this very parallelism seems to have caused difficulties since the Gisu have resisted attempts to amalgamate minor lineages in order to make it possible to pay the remaining *bagasya* more money. They cling to the idea that the minor lineage head is the representative of his people, who would have no voice without him, and they have offered to pay Sh. 100/– annual tax, that is to say 40% above the highest graduated tax, in order to maintain their right to their own *mugasya*.

The distinction between the higher chiefs (class I and II) and the lower chiefs (class III and IV) is very complete in the people's minds.

In Lugbara country the first chiefs appointed by the Belgians were from among the 'men whose names are known' since the 'chiefs of the rain' fled to hide their magic rainstones. Weatherhead's Lugbara again were regarded as foreigners or European-trained agents. The new counties were demarcated on an arbitrary basis but there was some parallelism between the old tribal (maximal lineage) territories and the new sub-counties and between those of the major lineage and the new parishes. Here chiefs tend to be thought of as traditional figures; sub-county chiefs as new men. Parish chiefs vary in type and village chiefs are traditional figures.

In Bukiga it is difficult to be sure how far there is any identification between the traditional lineage areas and the new territorial units but during the period of strong direct rule which lasted in this district for many years the Kiga accepted the autocratic Ganda chiefs and came to believe that the role of a chief must necessarily be of this kind. Baxter thinks they find the new more democratic pattern of chieftainship hard to adapt themselves to. Here the county chiefs combine traditional with new functions; the sub-county chiefs are regarded as European-trained and the headmen are traditional.

It is interesting to find that in these tribes in which the idea of executive authority is new there has been a tendency for chieftainship to become hereditary. In Lugbara chiefs were first men with known names who started as wealthy persons and were then paid in cattle which made them wealthier still. They were thus able to send their sons to school. The Kiga appointments have been closely controlled by the Administration but chiefs yet have a differential access to wealth and 27% of chiefs are sons of chiefs and 12% brothers-in-law of other chiefs. In Bugisu authority was always associated with a position of genealogical seniority and this is still the case.

This summary has necessarily been a superficial one yet it should illustrate many of the difficulties involved in introducing a system of local government which is at the same time efficient, local and democratic. In the larger Interlacustrine kingdoms efficiency in the keeping of order, the administration of justice and of the social services was often achieved by the use of the traditional machinery of government but these systems could not have been described as

'local' since the governments of both Buganda and Bunyoro, for instance, had become quite highly centralized before the arrival of the British and they remained so for several decades.[1] Nor could these systems have been called democratic in the British sense of the word until the Protectorate Government introduced a system of election of members to all councils, whether at the tribal, county or sub-county level and also to the Legislative Assembly of Uganda as a whole. The same comments apply in a modified form to the multi-kingdom tribes such as Busoga and Buhaya. It is important here to distinguish between democracy used in the sense of what the people at the moment want, and democracy as a system of control of government processes by the majority of the people, for the two may be very different things in societies of the Interlacustrine type. Even elected councils might vote for the continuance of systems which appear to the European observer to be undemocratic because they had become symbols of a way of life.[2]

In the segmentary societies of this region, on the other hand, the traditional structures might be described as democratic and they were certainly locally organized since tribes consisted of a number of semi-autonomous descent groups, but traditional officials with executive functions did not exist and local government could not be regarded as efficient. The problem in the Interlacustrine tribes has been one of turning autocracies into something more like democracies and thus altering their whole concept of authority; that in the segmentary societies, on the other hand, was at first a task of centralizing and amalgamating tiny discrete units and turning kinship heads and other informal leaders into executive and often autocratic chiefs. This policy has been followed more recently by an attempt to introduce our own concept of democratic control of local councils so that the Kiga, who had apparently become used to the authoritarian chiefs who worked under the Government, found the change bewildering.

If efficiency is to be regarded as the sole object of local government it could presumably be best achieved by a staff of British administrators, or Africans closely supervised by them, since it is British concepts of local government and particularly British ideas of social services which are to be introduced. These new measures

[1] Unless the tribe is to be considered as the local unit, and the population of Buganda is over a million people.

[2] For example the statement frequently made by the smaller parish chiefs in Buganda that they refuse 'to have democracy forced on us'.

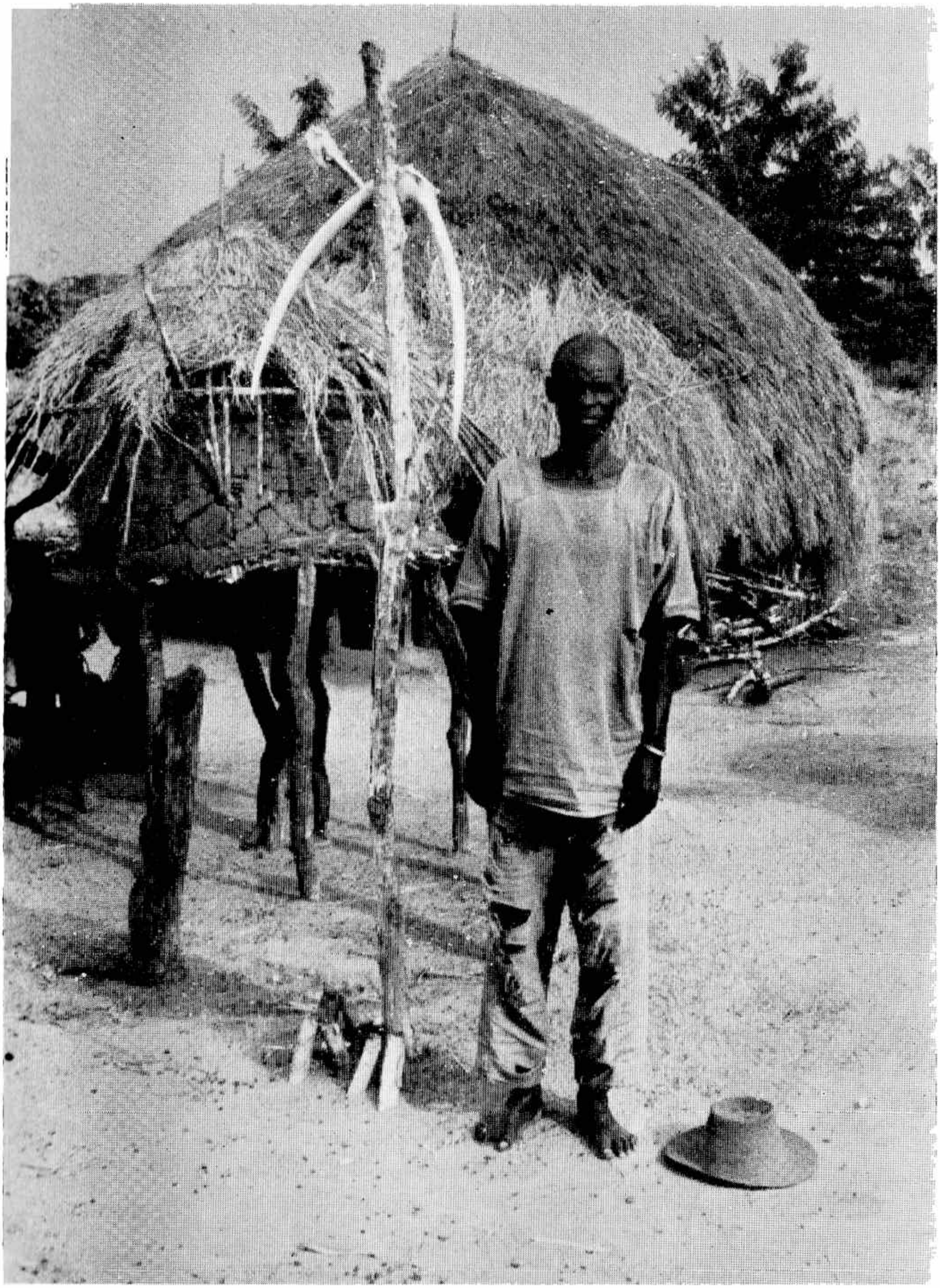
would be enforced by fines and other disciplinary measures, by the dismissal of inefficient officials and by propaganda. This has been done in the past, but an adequate supervisory staff could increase the rate of progress and this might be the quickest way of raising the standards of living of the people. It is not uncommon for an educated Ganda to say to a European, 'Why on earth didn't you force us to do so and so as you forced us to grow cotton?' Such a system would focus opposition to new measures on the British officials and their subordinates instead of on the traditional chiefs, who are everywhere in a position of conflict between their double role of tribal chief and subordinate of the British Administration.[1] It is again not at all unusual to hear a modern African chief say, 'Why don't you enforce the soil erosion measures yourselves, since you think them necessary? Then the people would not hate me.'

But completely direct rule by the British Administration has never been feasible. It would mean an army of new officials, European and African, and greatly increased costs of administration: it has been shown in these essays how much of the low level supervisory work is now done by parish chiefs and headmen working on very low salaries or with no remuneration at all. Besides this the system would provide no training in local self-government and this has always been a major aim of British policy. It would also be likely to increase the hostility to the Government which is inevitable when welfare measures are introduced quickly and often ahead of the people's desires. There is already evidence of a sense of irritation among villagers at the constant pressure they have been under to build better houses, to cultivate in different ways and generally to adopt more European standards. This feeling is rarely expressed except at a time of crisis but it is a striking fact how often modern political parties, such as the Uganda National Congress or its Northern Rhodesian counterpart[2] are said by the villagers to favour a return to the old ways and to a world where there will be no latrines to be dug and no anti-erosion ridges to be made.

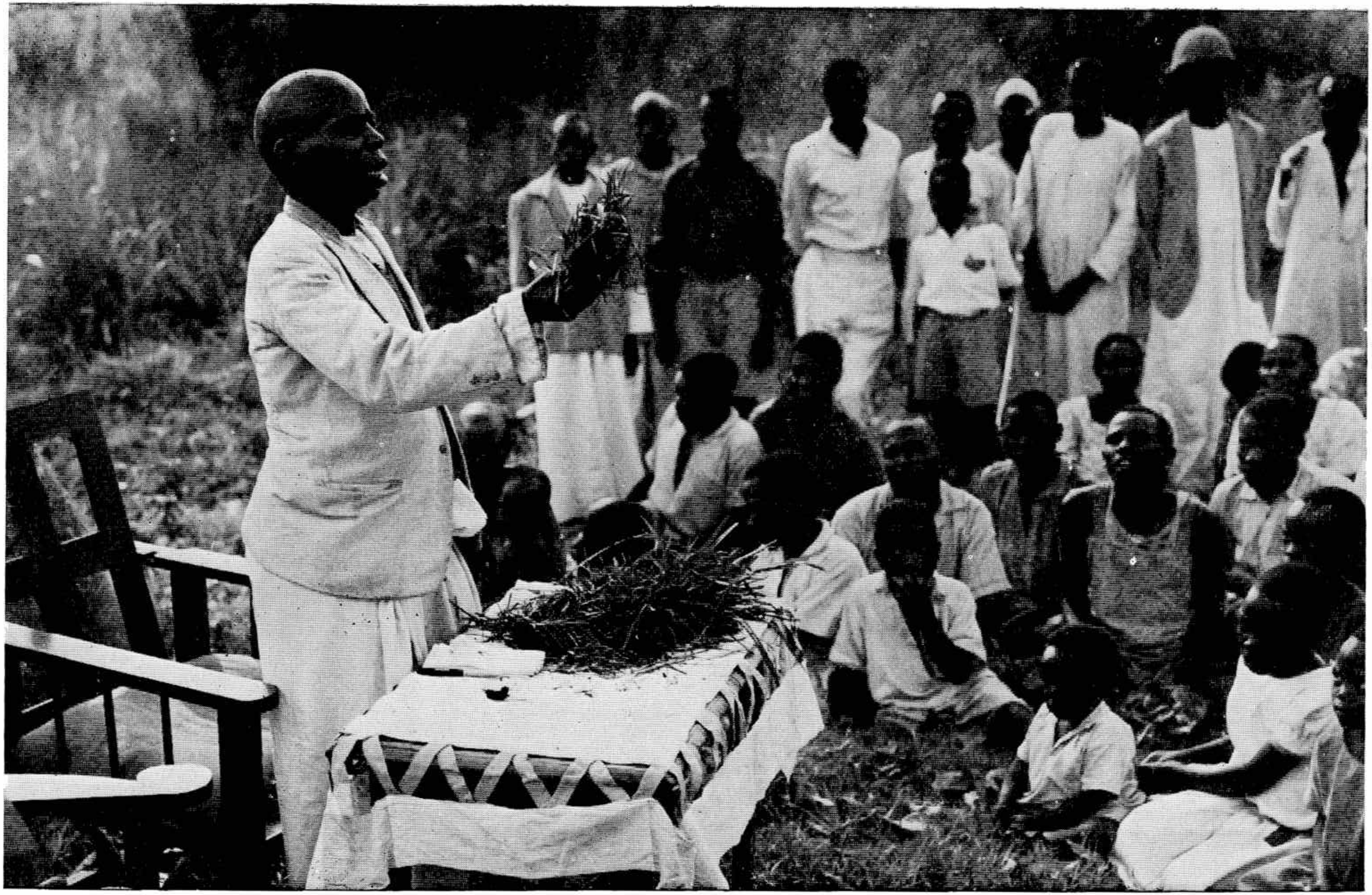
It would also be possible to by-pass the chiefs and to put much greater control over social services into the hands of a new type of local government council served by new officials which it appointed.

[1] L. A. Fallers describes this conflict very fully, in *Bantu Bureaucracy*, 1956. It is referred to in each essay in this book.

[2] And even more so by the *bataka* party in Uganda.



An Alur village chief. His hut is behind him, members of his family are beside the granary and the pole with the waterbuck horns hanging on it is his ancestor's shrine.



Muruka chief of Sayi in Kyaggwe, lecturing to his people on the advantages of planting paspalum grass on the roadsides to prevent erosion.

This has in effect happened in parts of Uganda such as the Nile province, where Alur, Lugbara and Madi combine in a new type council. This is no doubt a valuable training in democratic control of local affairs, as we envisage it, but one which depends at the moment on the supervision of British officials who believe in such ideas, although it could be run by African officers of the same type when they become available. Such new councils would be difficult to introduce into the Interlacustrine areas especially in the case of Buganda where traditional councils are recognized by treaty. Nor is it at all certain that the removal of the traditional chiefs and the introduction of elected councils would necessarily result in a majority of progressive councillors at each assembly, tribal, county or sub-county. The majority of the electors are not at the moment progressive and in this particular region the chiefs have been shown to come from a more educated class than the councillors. Among the Interlacustrines therefore there would be likely to be an initial period of confusion if such systems were introduced. It is doubtful also whether the underpaid parish chiefs would continue to be willing to work under a non-traditional control.

In fact, however, compromise solutions have been adopted in all the tribes described. Traditional leaders have been recognized, trained, supervised and pushed along the path of progress. Many of the higher chiefs have come to adopt the ideals of progress they have been taught and some have been separated from their people as the result. They have become 'Government stooges' in the eyes of their fellows. Others have clung to their traditional roles and have earned the reputation of being 'disloyal' or 'inefficient' in the eyes of the Administration. All seem to have been conscious of the conflict in their two roles.

Lower chiefs have remained much nearer to the traditional level and more closely identified with the people. They have no doubt been only moderately efficient, but they have approached very closely to what their people wanted and they have done work which no one else was willing to do at a very low cost. Until other substitutes are found, this type of traditional official will probably have to continue to be employed. In other words the British administrator is in somewhat the same position towards the lower chiefs as the husband in the Sanscrit legend who asked his God to take away his wife because she irritated him so much and did her work so badly and then, when he was left alone, asked his God to send

her back again because he had no one to live with and no one to do the work at all, saying sadly, 'I cannot live either with her or without her'.[1] Senior African administrators might well find themselves in a similar position with regard to the lower chiefs and might continue to do so until the latter's standard of education and prospects of promotion improve. The tension is probably in direct ratio to the rapidity of the changes in standards of living which are occurring.

A comparison of the qualifications and basis of recruitment of the present-day chiefs in Uganda and parts of Tanganyika will be made on the basis of an analysis of the case histories presented here.

The career histories examined

Finally there remains the question of the generalizations which the chiefs' career histories enable us to make when they are examined as a whole. Is it possible to correlate differences in the educational level of higher and lower chiefs with differences in wealth, method of appointment, or peculiarities of tribal structure? Are chiefs trained in the same way throughout the area as viewed in terms of their previous employments?

To what extent do traditional methods of appointment in the sense of a hereditary succession, selection from a royal clan or a superior class survive in the region; and does the presence or absence of direct government control over appointments favour hereditary succession or not?

In which type of society is mobility within the African government service most complete and at what level is it complete? Is there, for instance, always a rank of lower, traditionally based chiefs who remain attached to their villages, as distinct from upper chiefs of a modern type who move from place to place? What factors affect the presence or absence of this mobility?

How do the salaries of chiefs at different levels compare with those associated with other forms of employment in the area?

The educational level of chiefs varies greatly from tribe to tribe. There is still an appreciable number of higher chiefs (I and II) who have had no formal school education. In the case of the lower chiefs the figures of those without primary schooling are of course much higher. The proportions are as follows:

[1] Quoted in A. E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, 1934, p. 33.

Chiefs without Primary Education

Tribe	*Class I and II*	*Class III*
Zinza	25%	72%
Kiga	24%	30%
Alur	20%	No data
Ha	20%	80%
Haya	9%	57%
Gisu	4%	29%
Toro	3%	10%
Sukuma	4%	53%
Ganda	1%	5%
Lugbara	None	40%
Nyoro	None	5%
Soga	None	None
Ankole	None	None

The differences here appear to be correlated in a simple and obvious fashion with the general level of advance in the area. Buzinza, Buha and Bukiga are regions which are poorly connected by transport with the outside world and have no substantial cash crop. Bugisu grows coffee and is developing rapidly but has been reckoned as a backward area educationally for some time. The Buhaya figures seem to be anomalous since this is a wealthy coffee-producing region. It will be recalled however, that since this is an area of traditional hereditary chieftainship, at the class I and II level selection is limited. Our sample of lower chiefs moreover is not a satisfactory one since it includes so few class III chiefs as distinct from those of class IV.

	Classes I and II		*Class III*	
Tribe	*Primary*	*Secondary*	*Primary*	*Secondary*
Alur	80%	0	No data	No data
Lugbara	62%	38%	60%	No data
Zinza	62%	13%	28%	0
Ha	60%	20%	20%	0
Gisu	73%	23%	71%	0
Kiga	56%	20%	68%	2%
Haya	55%	36%	43%	0
Sukuma	74%	22%	47%	0
Toro	57%	37%	87%	3%
Nyoro	46%	54%	80%	15%
Soga	53%	40%	91%	9%
Ganda	20%	68%	63%	32%
Ankole	58%	42%	100%	No data

The comparative figures for primary and secondary education at the higher and lower levels are interesting since they show the extent to which there is a marked difference in type between the two grades.

From these figures it is possible to see that the tribes in which there is little basic difference in educational level between higher and lower chiefs, are the following: Lugbara (Primary: class I and II, 62%; class III, 60%), Gisu (Primary: class I and II chiefs, 73%; class III, 71%), Kiga (Primary: class I and II, 56%; class III, 68%), Haya (Primary: class I and II, 55%; class III, 43%).

In the remaining tribes the difference is very large, i.e.

Primary Education

	Classes I and II	*Class III*
Sukuma	74%	47%
Toro	57%	87%
Nyoro	46%	80%
Soga	53%	91%
Ganda	20%	63%
Ha	60%	20%
Zinza	62%	28%
Ankole	58%	100%

In the case of the Uganda tribes the lower figure for primary education in the higher grades means a higher figure for secondary education, while in the case of Buzinza, Busukuma and Buha the lower percentage of chiefs with primary education means a difference between having a primary education or having none at all.

In tribal areas where there is little difference between the senior and junior grades of chief, the general level of education is low. It is also of interest that these are areas without a wealthy ruling class able to pay for the education of its children, for, although Buhaya is a prosperous area, there does not appear to be as much differentiation in wealth as there is in the Uganda tribes. This factor seems to be more relevant than the political system of the tribe. The basis of appointment of chiefs in Buhaya and Sukumaland is hereditary, whereas in Bugisu and Kigezi chiefs are a new institution.

It had been thought that there would be a strong association between educational level and age, but this does not seem to be generally the case. In the correlation tests applied by G. M. Teoh there was a positive association between age and education in the case of Buganda and Buha alone.

It is likely that in those areas where hereditary chieftainship is a traditional institution, special efforts were made by the Government in the early days to give education to those who were in direct line of descent and hence old chiefs tend to be better educated than their fellows. In the tribes where client chieftainship was an institution, men in office in the beginning of this century acquired wealth through the introduction of cash crops. This they used for the education of their sons. Hence in these areas also the chief who is over 40 today is likely to have had better chances of secondary schooling than the rest of the community.

Higher level chiefs as a class have also had opportunities of training in European administrative arts by participation in Government or other work, either because chiefs in office were able to secure posts as Government clerks for their sons; or because in these areas where chiefs were recommended for promotion by the European Administration, a Government employee tended to be better known by the district commissioner than, say, a farmer.

Tribe	*Clerks*	*Teacher/Clergy*	*Police/Army*	*Trade*
Lugbara	38%	31%	1%	0
Alur	30%	20%	40%	10%
Gisu	42%	31%	4%	0
Kiga	52%	16%	20%	0
Ganda	45%	13%	15%	30%
Soga	54%	16%	14%	0
Nyoro	34%	24%	14%	10%
Toro	53%	3%	17%	3%
Ankole	57%	16%	12%	7%
Haya	27%	9%	0	0
Ha	33%	7%	7%	7%
Zinza	50%	50%	13%	13%
Sukuma	50%	4%	12%	0

These figures show that in the majority of cases nearly half the higher chiefs have been employed at some time or other as clerks and since filing and bookkeeping are part of the responsibilities of the modern chief, this is evidently a useful experience. A clerk in a European Government office no doubt also learns a good deal about general administrative practice along Western lines.

In early days of contact with European government, teaching posts, often combined with ordination, were among the few openings for an educated African. The figures given above show that in more backward areas, such as Lugbara and Buzinza, appreciable numbers of chiefs have acted as teachers. The figure is also high for Bugisu and Bunyoro which must reckon as intermediate areas from the development point of view. However in south Uganda teachers are now poorly paid compared to men in other employments such as government posts, administrative or clerical work, and the number of chiefs who have been employed as teachers or clergymen is here very small. Appreciable numbers of chiefs have served in the army or the police in Alurland, Bukiga, and to a lesser extent in Busoga, Bunyoro, Toro and Sukumaland. There is some evidence that chiefs' sons tended in the early days to volunteer for the army in which they hoped to fulfil leading roles. There is also evidence that where district commissioners appoint to chieftainships, they value a good army or police record as a basis for appointment.

The remarkably high numbers of senior chiefs in Buganda who have been engaged in trade reflect the growth of African business

Employment of Higher Chiefs
in

	Central Government	*African Local Government*
Lugbara	16%	31%
Alur	50%	90%
Gisu	7%	92%
Kiga	20%	56%
Ganda	44%	34%
Soga	42%	81%
Nyoro	37%	31%
Toro	57%	53%
Ankole	31%	86%
Haya	9%	73%
Ha	47% in Central and African Local Government, taken together	
Zinza	38%	63%
Sukuma	28%	50%

in that area and also the presence of a ruling class with capital in the form of land which can be sold or rented in order to start a store or some such enterprise.

Most chiefs have served either in the Central Government or the African Local Government before taking office, but there is a great variation from tribe to tribe in the division between these two avenues of employment.

It will be seen that the areas in which fewer chiefs have worked for the Central Government than the African Local Government are the following: Lugbara, Alurland, Bugisu, Bukiga, Ankole, Busoga, Buhaya and Buzinza. The first two are areas with a low general level of education and it is possible that the Central Government had to employ Africans from other tribes to do clerical and administrative work for them and hence had fewer candidates from their staff to promote. Where there are hereditary claims to office in class I and II chieftainships it is also unlikely that such men would serve an apprenticeship as a clerk in a Government office, and this might account for the low figures for Ankole, Buhaya, Buzinza, Busukuma. In tribes in which appointments to chieftainship are made by the Central Government or depend on personal influence with either Government it was likely that service in the '*boma*' should be considered as a good stepping-stone to a chieftainship and in Buganda, Busoga, Bunyoro and Toro nearly half the higher chiefs have been trained in that way. In some areas a considerable number of chiefs have had experience in both kinds of administration. The proportion of central to local government training is likely to fall quite rapidly as African Local Government develops and takes on more powers. African ideas of administration may then predominate in the training of chiefs except for those who go on special courses or overseas.

The figures should also give us comparative information in the present-day survival of the traditional bases of appointment of chiefs. In those areas where class I chiefs were formerly kinglets and class II chieftainships were filled mainly by princes or members of a royal clan, considerable change has taken place, shown in the table on next page.

In Buha and Buzinza chieftainship was traditionally hereditary but it appears that the Administration has made more changes in promotion and dismissal of chiefs in these two areas than in any other considered here. In Bunyoro the number of chieftainships held by Bito does not refer to hereditary posts since this is a tribe

in which client chieftainship is practised; the figures probably reflect the high status of Bito and their royal connections.

	Royal Clans		
Class I and II chiefs	Sukuma	94%	
	Haya	82%	
	Alur	70%	
	Soga	37%	
	Ha	27%	
	Nyoro	17%	
	Toro	13%	
	Zinza	13%	Huma clan membership =37%

At the level of class III chiefs, royals are only appointed on a large scale in the case of Sukumaland, Buhaya and Busoga.

	Royal Clans	
Class III chiefs	Sukuma	90% (estimated)
	Haya	57%
	Soga	32%
	Ha	8%
	Nyoro	5%
	Toro	12%
	Zinza	7%

All levels of chieftainship were filled by royals in traditional Sukumaland. In Buhaya princes commonly ruled over village units of the parish type as they did in Busoga.

It is not to be assumed, however, that the succession has been a traditional one even in areas where the rulers are drawn from a royal lineage or clan. The accounts of succession in Buhaya, Buha and Buzinza show how greatly the hereditary system has been used by the Administration to produce chiefs of which it approved. For instance, even in Sukumaland only 10% of class I and II chiefs are the sons of their predecessors although 48% are sons, real or classificatory, of some chief or other. This is also true of 64% of class I chiefs. In Buhaya 57% of the lower chiefs are sons of chiefs and 87·5% in class I.

The existence of a ruling class as distinct from hereditary chieftainship is revealed in the case of tribes where client chieftainship is practised, as the following figures show:

Chiefs who are sons of chiefs

	Total	*Class I*	*Class II*	*Class III*	*Class IV*
Ganda	38%	55%	38%	27%	No data
Nyoro	55%	100%	68%	51%	39%
Toro	45%	57%	48%	33%	45%
Ankole	36%	25%	44%	35%	31%

In all these cases the individuals counted were sons of some kind of chief, not usually their predecessors. There are no data of this kind for Busoga. Figures of this sort have been used to suggest the existence of a ruling, secondary-school-going class in these tribes.

There are even signs of the presence of a ruling class in areas where chieftainship is new, that is to say, Bugisu and Bukiga.

Chiefs who are sons of chiefs

	Total	*Class I*	*Class II*	*Class III*	*Class IV*
Bugisu	49%	—	26%	64%	66%
Bukiga	27%	20%	25%	21%	32%

The figures of chiefs who are brothers or brothers-in-law of chiefs are also significant and appear in each set of tribal figures.

Where chiefs are among the wealthiest men in the community it is natural that they command educational facilities for their children and that the sons and brothers of chiefs may actually be better fitted than the general level of the community for their posts. They will also have been brought up in an administrative tradition. When other and more lucrative professions for Africans appear, ambitious men are likely to gravitate towards them—a point discussed below.

The extent to which higher and lower chiefs form a single service with promotion from one rank to another can also be discussed on a comparative basis.

Upper Chiefs promoted from Class III

Gisu	77%
Soga	63%
Kiga	60%
Haya	56%
Nyoro	55%
Ganda	41%
Alur	40%
Toro	38%
Sukuma	36%
Zinza	25%
Ha	18%

(No data for Lugbara)

The highest figure of promotion comes from Bugisu, where, as will have been seen, there is little educational difference between the higher and lower chiefs, and the institution of chieftainship is new. The same applies to Bukiga. The Soga figures are surprising in relation to the other peoples of the group. The Ganda figures show that the parish chiefs have chances of being promoted to higher ranks although the majority of them are still locally based. In Sukumaland, Buzinza and Buha, there is substantially less promotion, which may be due to the low educational level of Grade III chiefs or to their lack of the hereditary qualifications for higher chieftainships.

The degree of mobility in the different levels of chiefs is not revealed by the list given below, since the average figure gives no idea of the numerous changes of post certain chiefs have made. It will be seen that the tribes with the greatest movement from post to post within a grade are the Soga, Toro, Gisu, and Kiga, and that in these tribes there is more movement among the class III chiefs than in either of the other categories. It will be remembered that the Soga parish chief is a European innovation, often by-passed by the traditional chiefs above and below him, and that chieftainship in Bukiga and Bugisu is a new institution altogether. Areas with more movement in class III than class I include also Buhaya and Buzinza. In Buganda, the reverse is the case; the parish chiefs, mostly landed notables, hardly move at all. For instance, only two out of nineteen of the sample had changed their posts. The greatest movement occurred in class II.

From the descriptive accounts, it would appear that where the British Administration has the greatest say in appointments, movement, depositions and promotions are more frequent. This might indicate that the standards exacted by the district commissioner are higher than those of African Local Government authorities; or that chiefs closely supervised by European officials find themselves in an impossible position between two systems of government and that they therefore frequently fail. It might also mean that district officers are, on the whole, no better at choosing present-day chiefs than Africans are. Certainly the career histories of Ha and Zinza chiefs show that Government-appointed officials are dismissed for the same reasons that traditionally selected ones are and probably more frequently dismissed. The difficulty is perhaps greatest at the lowest level. Officials here are paid very little and they work mainly for traditional reasons, that is to say their

desire to stand well in their local community. If they remain poorly paid, and are, as we have seen, poorly educated, and yet are frequently moved out of their local community, it is likely that administration at the lowest level will get the worst of both worlds, the new and the old.

Average number of posts held at present grade—including present.

	Class I	*Class II*	*Class III*
Ganda	2·5	1·7	1·1
Soga	1·8	2·4	1·8
Nyoro	1·0	1·0	No data
Toro	2·1	2·9	2·8
Haya	1·0	1·3	1·4
Zinza	1·0	1·4	1·4
Ha	1·0	1·2	1·0
Sukuma	1·0	1·0	1·0
Gisu	1·3	2·0	1·9
Kiga	1·6	2·0	2·2
Alur	1·0	1·6	No data

The salary scales are important in this connection. Can they be said to be sufficient to attract men of quality to join an exacting profession at a difficult point in tribal history? The table on p. 376 is sometimes misleading since it is based on average figures and the scale ranges are large. Also it does not show the number of allowances in the way of housing, car and other grants received by class I and class II chiefs, as distinct from class III. The figures indicate, however, that class I chiefs are well paid in relation to high earners in the community, such as senior teachers or high-grade clerks.

There is a big drop in salary for class II chiefs who get half the salary of class I among the Gisu, under one-third in Buganda, one-fourth in Busoga, one-fifth in Busukuma and Alurland, one-eighth in Buzinza and one-fifteenth in Buhaya.

The drop in salary from class II to class III is not so great in terms of cash, but parish chiefs get no pension or house. Haya, Alur, Nyoro and Gisu parish chiefs get about half the pay of a sub-county chief; in Sukumaland and Buganda the figure is one-fourth and in Buzinza one-tenth.

It is clear that a sub-county chief has an incentive to remain in the service and to hope for promotion when he will get a big increase in pay and pension, although his starting salary may be little more than that of a domestic servant in a European household.

A class III chief has, however, very little pay and only a small chance of promotion. No educated boy is likely to be attracted to this profession although he would learn much about peasant difficulties and customary law if he went through this training. Nor is it likely that peasants themselves will be willing to continue to act as parish chiefs when their income from cash crops rises, and this situation has been reached already in parts of Buganda. The problem of the selection and appointment of the lower chiefs is in fact the crux of the struggle between the traditional and modern bureaucracies, and it is one which will face African governments with the same urgency as it does European ones. Whatever may be said for and against the parish chief in East Africa, he provides a very cheap and generally a very willing form of service. The administrations of the future may try to raise his pay and to raise his qualifications and may succeed in persuading him that he wants

AVERAGE MONTHLY SALARIES IN 1952 *OR* 1953

Tribe	*(Class of Chief)* I	II	III	*Peasant income*	*Head-master*
Ganda	**750/–**	**225/–**	**60/–**	**96/–**	**300/– to 350/–**
Soga	**725/–**	**152/–**	**97/–**	—	—
Nyoro	**445/–**	**149/–**	**45/–**	**18/–**	**200/–**
Haya	**1451/–**	**95/–**	**30/–**	**25/–**	—
Ha (1951)	**800/–**	**200/–**	**20/–**	—	**132/–**
Zinza	**807/–**	**79/–**	**10/–**	—	—
Sukuma	**598/–**	**108/–**	**24/–**	**20/–**	**200/–**
Alur	**266/–**	**172/–**	**53/–**	**10/–**	**150/–**
Gisu	**511/–**	**203/–**	**92/–**	—	**200/–**

	Senior clerk	*Artisan*	*Domestic servant*	*Un-skilled worker*
Ganda	**400/– to 500/–**	**150/– to 200/–**	**90/–**	**40/–**
Soga	—	—	—	—
Nyoro	—	**100/–**	**60/–**	**40/–**
Haya	—	—	**75/–**	—
Ha (1951)	—	**70/–**	**45/–**	**18/–**
Zinza	—	—	—	—
Sukuma	**230/–**	**100/–**	**65/–**	**40/–**
Alur	**180/–**	**100/–**	**40/–**	**17/–**
Gisu	—	—	**100/–**	**35/–**

to continue living in a remote village away from the 'civilized' life of the towns; alternatively they may decide to let village life move at its traditional pace under its traditional lower chiefs and to devote money and training to higher chiefs—a view which Buganda senior officials sometimes express.

'Feudalism' in the Interlacustrine Kingdoms

Chapter XVI

'FEUDALISM' IN THE INTERLACUSTRINE KINGDOMS[1]

A discussion of the feudal analogies of some of the kingdoms dealt with in this book must begin with a brief definition of European feudalism, a task which has taxed the ingenuity of historians from the eighteenth century to the twentieth, and provided occasion for argument ever since Montesquieu wrote his famous thirtieth and thirty-first chapters of *De l'esprit des lois*, in 1748.

Feudalism can be conceived as a form of society with more or less well-defined economic and political characteristics or narrowly defined as a set of institutions regulating obligations between persons: each have wide temporal and local variations. The first, following Professor Calmette, I shall call 'feudal society' and the second, following Pollock and Maitland, I shall call 'feudo-vassalage'.

Feudal society was typical of Western Europe from the tenth century onwards. It arose in the successor states of the Frankish empire of Charlemagne and was exported to parts of Christian Spain, the Levant and England.[2] In describing its characteristics, and in particular its political features, most historians have taken the modern European state as their norm. Consequently they have stressed those characteristics which offer the greatest contrast to it: the dispersal of political authority, personal dependence and the existence of a specialized military class with a virtual monopoly of

[1] By Mrs. E. M. Chilver, Director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Oxford.

[2] This statement implies a view of feudalism which is commonly but not universally accepted. There is a convenient summary of conflicting views in H. A. Cronne, 'The Origins of Feudalism', *History*, New Series, vol. XXIV, 1931, and C. Stephenson, 'The Origin and Significance of Feudalism,' *A.H.R.*, XLVI, 1941.

heavy armament. Associated with these political features is a subdivision and gradation of 'real' rights roughly matching degrees of personal dependence.

The stress is somewhat differently placed by the legal historians concerned with feudo-vassalage. 'What is characteristic of the feudal period,' say Pollock and Maitland, 'is not the relationship between letter and hirer, or lender and borrower of land, but the relationship between lord and vassal, or rather it is the union of these two relationships.' This relationship consisted, on the side of the vassal, of the two obligations of service and obedience to the lord; service normally included military service. On the lord's side it consisted of the two obligations of protection and maintenance. The lord's second obligation was usually discharged by the grant to the vassal of a fief. The fief was usually land, but it might be any other productive thing, an office, a share of revenues, rights to collect taxes and tolls, or ownership of a source of profit like a mill, a fish-weir or a ferry. A fief can be defined as a benefice held by a vassal; a benefice has been defined as 'a tenement held on easy terms, or even gratuitously, and which the tenant owes to the generosity of the grantor'.[1] Feudo-vassalage is thus the union of the two separate institutions of vassalage and benefice, which can and do occur separately in the pre-feudal period and in the early period of feudal society. In its classical period the grant of a fief is seen more readily as the justification of the vassal's obedience as well as an endowment to make his service possible. By the eleventh century the life-benefice had assumed the character of a hereditary fief over much of Europe; its heritability, however, was of a special kind. The death of a vassal revived the rights of the lord over the fief; an heir could only demand readmission to investiture by renewal, on terms, of the feudal contract. In the latest period of feudalism the property element in feudal relationships grew to be the predominant one, and the act of homage and oath of fealty expressing the personal obligations of the vassal to his lord became a legal formality.

There is no room for discussion of the vexed question of the origins of feudalism or of the parts played in its development by the methods adopted to settle barbarians in the late Empire, by late Roman law and land tenure, by Germanic military and social

[1] F. L. Ganshof, *Feudalism*, 1st English ed., 1952, p. 11. I have relied heavily on his compact essay for definitions. Revenue fiefs are outlined in E. Sczaniecki, *Essai sur les fiefs-rentes*, 1946, pp. 2–13.

organization and by the Church's dogma of kingship. Feudal polities developed when Western Europe was being heavily raided from without after a long period in the course of which communications, the commercial and monetary systems, urban life and the administrative organizations that kept them functioning had been shattered by wars and large movements of population; and when the resources required by the maintenance of civil government and defence could not be conveyed over long distances or readily converted into a recognized medium of exchange. Consequently feudal government was primarily local government. The typical unit of government was, by modern standards, small.

The historical situation in which the Interlacustrine Bantu states came into being is obscure. We cannot say whether they arose, like the feudal states, after a breakdown of far larger units; they did not arise in the ruins of a high culture partially retrieved and disseminated by a universal church. We have no evidence as yet that the process of conquest and settlement called for any very elaborate organization of local defence against competitors for authority in states ruled by Bito or other dynasties. One traditional version of the conquest of Buganda runs thus:

'When the Kings came into the country . . . they found clans . . . possessing the land. The hills were occupied by the clans, a clan would have its hill, each clan had a head who was practically the ruler of the clan. When the King came in he began to drive out these people and gave land to favourites who were members of the clan in that part of the country; the land thus given was called *butaka*. When he got stronger he took the land from the members of the clan and gave it to his favourites (not of the clan); they were called *batongole* and the land given to them *butongole*.'[1]

The territorial units of government in feudal Europe and those of the Interlacustrine states are roughly comparable in size if we leave out of account multiple 'states', such as the Holy Roman Empire or the Capetian monarchy, and consider their main components. But this omission immediately points to a structural difference between the state systems of the Interlacustrine area (in the nineteenth century at least) and those of parts of Western Europe in the early Middle Ages. In the early part of the twelfth century,

[1] J. Roscoe and Sir Apolo Kagwa, 'Enquiry into Native Land Tenure', MS. Afr. S. 17 in Rhodes House (Bodleian) 1906. I have altered the punctuation slightly. It is not impossible that future archaeological research will establish valid connections between Kitara and the Interlacustrine states and determine the date and purpose of the great earthworks of western Uganda.

for example, the kingdom of France consisted of a group of small feudal states under hereditary rulers who were the final judicial, fiscal and military authorities within them, each in nominal dependence on a king (himself the ruler of a small state) whose paramount authority was undefined and largely moral. Within the states themselves there were lesser lords whose relations with their ruler and whose sphere and scope of political authority were also fairly indefinite. Political authority was distributed in a scries of overlapping circles. Later feudalism is marked by an increasing definition of sphere and scope, in terms of the rights and duties of superiors and subordinates. The later feudal structure of government has been likened to that of a complex business corporation, with interlocking directorships, tiers of holding companies and associated concerns with a good deal of autonomy. The simile is a useful one, provided it is remembered that, in feudal states, monopoly of any single 'vertical' function of government is rarely fixed at any point.

The Interlacustrine states (in striking contrast to the small Alur chiefdoms) are distinctly self-contained, whether they are large states like Buganda or small states like Busambira. There is no middle term between large and small states, no paramountcies or confederations. The subordination of one unit to another, of Koki to Buganda, for example, is expressed by tribute on one side and forceful intervention in internal affairs on the other. Relations between the Interlacustrine states are of only three kinds: neutrality, conquest and assimilation, or a show of force followed by tribute. Even when small-state dynasties intermarry and even relinquish territory as bride-wealth, as in Buha, no permanent political association results. The absence of multiple states—if this is a proper term to describe the loose entities which, according to some medieval historians do not deserve to be called states at all—may simply point to the absence in the Interlacustrine area of the original situations which contributed to their formation in Western Europe, rather than to fundamental differences in dogma, technique or social structure. It might, however, be worth considering whether, in the Interlacustrine area, the dogma of kingship is an important factor in inhibiting the growth of paramountcies in the 'multi-kingdom' areas.

The absence of formally recognized territorial autonomy within a state seems to me a distinctive characteristic of the Interlacustrine kingdoms. The dispersal of authority characteristic of feudal

government (assuming that one takes as typical, say, the Capetian monarchy before Philip Augustus) has no counterpart in the Interlacustrine states. Whatever their size the dominant pattern is that of royal household and dependent territorial hierarchy. The dominant pattern has local variations. The hierarchy may not be strict, as in Bunyoro; or the central authority may be reinforced at lower levels in the hierarchy, as in Buganda. But a hierarchical structure of authority, territorially based, is the main articulation of military, fiscal and judicial administration in most of the states. It is only in the greater Hima- and Tusi-ruled states that political institutions based on the quite different principles of caste and commendation, and, in Sukumaland, that associations based on age, play an important part in military affairs or the allocation of revenues.

The association of offices and estates in the Interlacustrine kingdoms has been the criterion employed by most writers on the area—Roscoe, Ashe and Portal, for example—for describing their political systems as feudal. The description implies both structural and institutional affinities between the Interlacustrine and the feudal states, and its relevance depends, of course, on the broadness or strictness of one's definition of feudalism. The fact of the association of office and landholding combined with authority of some sort exercised by landlords over peasants would, if it were adopted as a definition (as it has been by many continental writers), place not only the Bito-ruled states but many others in Europe, Asia and Africa in the 'feudal' category. The stricter definition I have employed stresses the central institution of feudo-vassalage and the main structural characteristic of feudalism—the dispersal of the functions of government. If this definition is employed, the mere fact of dependent tenure is not critical; it excludes from the 'feudal' category all states other than those of Europe and Japan possibly.

The form of the relationship of men to land is one of the main determinants of political and social status in feudal Europe. But the political authority of a feudal lord is not merely an expansion of the powers of a landlord. The feudal lord's possession and disposition of real rights, however, gives permanence to political relationships. A fief has been described as a benefice held by a vassal; this is a minimum definition, applicable to all fiefs, of whatever type. A territorial fief is an autonomous unit of local government, bound to the king by the liegeancy and vassalage of its holder.

Fiefs may not be compact; they may be 'honours', scattered territories under a single lord. Greater or lesser fiefs may be held directly or indirectly of those whose allodial property they are, and rights in them, incorporeal rights for example, may be held independently of other rights. The tidy pyramidal structure of the feudal law-books is a convenient abstraction.

The contrast between the methods used to associate offices and estates in feudal and Interlacustrine states can best be illustrated by cases, and we can take judicial office as a starting-point. The dispersal of governmental functions considered characteristic of feudal society has usually been discussed by historians in terms of *justicia*. *Justicia* in the Middle Ages means more than the mere administration of justice: it includes the maintenance of public order, the control of economic activities and the assessment and collection of taxes. Did the grant of a fief carry with it the right of *justicia* as well as the duty of military service or its organization? No definite answer can be given, as practice varied from place to place. In some cases the grant of a territorial fief and the grant of *justicia* (itself a fief) were separate, in others combined. In others again, the performance of military duties was not a condition of tenure; or the duties owed were sub-contracted to a lesser lord in return for a share in the profits in the *justicia* of the fief. However, even when the grant of a fief and the grant of *justicia* were not conjoined, feudal courts concerned with vassalage were set up. Courts might thus be royal, popular or feudal.

Let us take a case from the feudal Outremer, the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Here feudal and general justice were combined, courts were organized on the basis of lordship and were distinguished according to the social status of the defendant. There were some twenty Courts Baron—that at which the king happened to be present was the High Court, which was also the political council of the realm. The High Court and the Courts Baron dealt with all but the most trivial matters affecting the nobility, except matrimonial cases. The Courts Baron were owned by lords and attended by all who owed suit to them. Some 30 Burgess Courts were also owned by lords. These were the highest courts for all matters involving life and limb for the non-noble population and had complete jurisdiction over Frankish freemen. Below these were Courts Merchant, dealing with both Franks and Syrians, and a Civil Maritime Court. There were also Consular Courts for Italian denizens and Ecclesiastical Courts for clergy cases and matrimonial matters. All the

Courts Baron were presided over by their lord; the Burgess and lower Courts were presided over by his subordinate, the *vicomte*. Presidence did not imply judgment: judgment was given by peers —nobles, freemen, merchants or sailors, as the case might be. There was no appeal beyond the highest court appropriate to a man's status. Even capital cases were excluded from the king's pleas, and cases of breaches of allegiance were a matter for the High Court, not for the king. The king was *primus inter pares*, 'a mere president of the council of his vassals and peers'.[1]

The case I have described illustrates one of the most important characteristics of feudal justice, whether the term is used to describe all the feudal rights owned by lords or only those exercised by lords on vassals. 'Suit to court'—personal attendance at his own expense at his lord's summons—was the vassal's duty. But the judgment a vassal was entitled to was that of his peers, not of his lord. In his legal rights, as well as in the interpretation of his feudal obligations, the military vassal was protected from arbitrary action by a differential justice, which recognized that lords as well as vassals could be guilty of felony.[2]

In Buganda and elsewhere in the Interlacustrine area, on the other hand, the judicial system was based on a hierarchy of courts, at which a single justice was dispensed. In Buganda the judicial office was included in the office of the *saza* (county) chiefs appointed by the king. Their subordinates also held courts. Appeals lay from the judgments of subordinate chiefs to those of *saza* chiefs, from theirs to that of the Katikiro and from his, on rare occasions, to the king and such chiefs as he might call upon to hear the case for him. The king's mother and sister were empowered to hold courts to try cases between members of their households, but these could also be transferred to the king. Appeals from lower to higher authority could only have been exercised by influential men, however. Peasants might present their disputes for arbitration to their lord's village headman, and probably few petty cases went beyond the local lord, given the cost of hearing fees and gifts and the dangers of incurring the displeasure of a superior. Cases of inheritance and succession were dealt with by clan-heads, but these and the minor arbitrations carried out on princes' estates were the only

[1] J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in Jerusalem, 1100–1291*, 1932, pp. 87–8.

[2] For a discussion of the assimilation of the relation between lord and vassal to that of king and subject, see F. Kern, *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages*, tr. S. B. Chrimes, 3rd ed., 1956, pp. 122 ff.

cases not dealt with by persons deriving their authority from an office of the crown, liable to termination.

The minor judicial autonomy of clan leaders or clan councils in clan and intra-clan affairs, which included in Buganda, at least, the initiative in blood-vengeance and compensation matters, did not, of course, derive from territorial office or, for that matter, from land ownership. Holders of *butaka* lands did not have any authority different in kind from that of other lords over peasants on their estates, and their inalienable rights in them did not place them outside the administrative hierarchy. The roles accorded to clan representatives as such within the royal household were mainly liturgical and ceremonial and did not give them an independent political competence in the late nineteenth century, whatever may have been the case before the reigns of Suna and Mutesa.

Justicia, as we saw, included fiscal rights and economic regulation as well as the administration of justice, and we might compare the fiscal systems of feudal and Interlacustrine states to discover whether there are any affinities between them.

In the early age of feudalism public and private rights were merged in the hands of lords. Under the prevailing agricultural system a lord's sources of income were the produce of those lands he held in demesne and the rents, in cash, service or kind, of those lands he let out to cultivators. Apart from rents, lords might also own local monopolies and the right to exact tallages or subsidies from peasant cultivators and others in his domain. The regularity or arbitrariness of exactions from peasants depended on their possibilities of escape to other lords anxious to settle colonists on newly reclaimed land or swell the populations of towns in their domains. But the fiscal rights of lords did not arise solely from their rights over serfs as proprietary masters. They were rights they could also exercise over freemen as political superiors. In such cases these rights were determined by more or less extensive bargaining. The levy of subsidies of various kinds was normally a custom of a large fief, and within it the process of negotiation resulted in a variety of assessments and immunities. A superior seeking subsidies (in addition to the regular feudal aids which were part of his vassal's obligations, and levies in his own domain) could only secure them by negotiation with his powerful feudatories and with chartered towns. The right to tax freemen was, in most of feudal Europe, a qualified right, justified by particular needs. Subsidies were requested *non consuetudinarie sed amicabiliter.*

The appropriation of resources in Bulamogi (Busoga), for example, is different in method. Here a hierarchy of ruler, princes, chiefs and headmen operated as a military, judicial and tribute-gathering organization.[1] Tribute in services and kind was collected at the lowest level by the headman and passed up to superiors and by them to the ruler, each keeping a share to themselves. According to Kagwa and other of Roscoe's informants, a much more elaborate fiscal organization was in operation in Buganda.[2] A distinction was made between great and lesser taxes. Great taxes comprised those payable in barkcloth or cowries by the peasantry and assessed per capita, renders of one in twenty goats or cows, and other special taxes rendered to the Kabaka, such as taxes from provinces rich in salt and termites. Lesser taxes, mainly in food, beer and barkcloth were rendered by peasants to lords. The great taxes were (as in the Busoga case) docked in fixed proportions in the presence of royal messengers as they passed up the hierarchy of chiefs to the court. There they were redivided between the Kabaka, the queen mother and queen sister, the Katikiro and (in the nineteenth century) other great officers, including the senior officer in charge of the tax-collection. The collection itself was preceded by an assessment based upon a tally of one cowrie to each hut and sometimes by a count of cattle.

It would be easy to demonstrate that the absence of a monopoly of judicial and fiscal competence in the hands of royal governments —kings and their household officers and delegates—was not universal in feudal Europe. In some kingdoms and great fiefs, in Angevin England and Flanders, for example, these regalities were in some measure retained or recovered. But what was common to all of them was the virtual monopoly of military force in the hands of a group, lords and their vassals, who were professional fighting-men. The techniques of feudal warfare involved long training and heavy equipment. The maintenance of a permanent force of knights —as some of the circumstances of the feudal settlement of England by William the Conqueror show—required a large endowment in land and peasant services. The traditional methods of warfare in the Interlacustrine states and the manipulation of weapons does not seem to have required much training. In Buganda, raiding forces were not professional. War, which was frequent, was an

[1] L. A. Fallers, *Bantu Bureaucracy*, 1956, pp. 173–4.

[2] For descriptions of tax-collection see the Roscoe-Kagwa MS. cited above, pp. 5, 32–4 and 95–6.

economic activity that brought women, slaves, cattle and ivory into the elaborate system of gift-exchange centred on the Court.[1] Every able-bodied man owed military service under the command of his superior; and lower chiefs brought their men to higher chiefs. Expeditions were entrusted by the king to a prominent chief chosen for the occasion. The contingents that formed it assembled under their chiefs and certain of them had fixed places on the march. After the expedition was over, its booty distributed by the king and the valour of those who had distinguished themselves in it rewarded, the contingents melted away. The introduction of more effective weapons—Arab guns acquired in exchange for slaves and ivory—seems, however, to have led to some military specialization. The establishment in the nineteenth century of military kings' *batongole* under the command of a royal officer, the *mujasi*, on estates granted for their maintenance and that of their retainers illustrates the proposition that military specialization requires a special appropriation of resources. But what distinguishes the endowment of military professionals in feudal Europe from that in Buganda is that much of it was only indirectly derived from the royal government. In Mutesa's Buganda, the estates granted to war-captains were granted directly by the king and were revocable at will.

The range of tasks a feudal government, a royal government or that of a fief, could perform depended on its success in securing control of military and other specialized services, supplies or their money equivalents, real rights and the labour of peasants and craftsmen: the same could be said of other forms of government. A king's or great lord's power to enforce feudal contracts was enhanced by possession of a personal domain and other independent sources of revenue, including the profits of justice—*justicia est magnum emolumentum*. But the possession of large personal domains was not essential: the power of the Dukes of Normandy was not based on it. While the presence of large vassal fiefs was obviously a check on the power of a superior, their lords could be harnessed to the crown by astute kings. The main content of politics in a feudal state dependent for its civil and military administration on feudal relationships was the regulation of these contracts. The

[1] According to Kagwa, Sir Apolo, *The Customs of the Baganda*, 1934, p. 92, six months barely passed before a new expedition was ordered; and the Ganda acquired so much plunder by raiding that they did not learn to trade like other peoples.

virtual monopoly of professional military expertize by lords and their vassals obviously increased the danger of rebellion and private war. But the growth of reasonably stable monarchical states was nevertheless most rapid where feudal institutions met least competition. It was not the opposition of royal prerogative to feudal contract, nor the extension of the power of king's men at the expense of that of the hereditary baronage, which prepared the way for the unification of France, for example; it was the development of the ruler's rights as a feudal superior. In the Holy Roman Empire, where some Carolingian institutions were retained, or in Italy, where the towns never wholly lost their independence, feudal institutions were never fully developed. Consequently the combination of autonomous territories under a feudal superior, with the feudal superior as a 'holding corporation', was not achieved.

The building-up of strong states in the Interlacustrine area seems to be associated with the replacement of hereditary by appointed authority in local administration. The development is most strongly marked in Buganda. But I doubt whether it offers any grounds for comparison with the conflicts between medieval monarchs and powerful feudatories.

What is chiefly at issue in Buganda and Busoga, for example, is the succession to the kingship. The kingship in Busoga, as in Buganda, is protected by the interposition of a powerful minister between the king's 'brothers' and the crown and by the elevation of commoners to political office. In Buganda, moreover, the kingship is protected, in Ottoman style, by the elimination of potential claimants or their relegation to minor court offices or small estates under supervision. The existence of some hereditary governorships in Buganda and of an order of 'crown-wearers' in Bunyoro does not seem to have been a source of instability: the king still retained a near-monopoly of patronage and promotion to higher office and, in Buganda, steadily replaced hereditary by appointed officials. The issues in feudal conflicts—the interpretation of royal rights to military and other services, to the profits of justice, to the reversion of fiefs, to taxes and tolls—are not matters for argument in the Interlacustrine states. If there are arguments about the limits of royal power in nineteenth-century Buganda they concern the right of the Kabaka to alienate *butaka* lands, but these are not necessarily associated with political office. If there are parallels between the processes of state-formation in Europe and in the Interlacustrine area, they are to be found in pre-feudal Europe.

Indeed, it is in pre-feudal Europe that one can find some likenesses to the manner in which estates and offices were associated in the Interlacustrine states. In ninth-century Wessex, for example, the ealdorman's shire was both his office and the territory over which he exercised military and judicial authority and which he policed on behalf of the king. Within it he might have inherited property, but he would have an official estate for his maintenance and that of his retainers and messengers. He organized the labour and military services owed by subjects and led the local militia. He was rewarded by a share in the profits of justice and by food and hospitality for himself and his retinue. Like the *saza* chief, he had no control over the allocation of land within the shire, which was composed of a patchwork of landholdings, some held by customary right and some protected by royal charter. His office was not hereditary, he might be moved from office to office, and he was normally a member of the king's council. If he was a noble, which he invariably seems to have been, his noble status did not derive either from his office or from his relationship to landed property, but was an inherited one. The holders of chartered estates were the king's thegns, who had inherited them or received them from the king as a reward for services. The king's thegns served in rotation at court and were expected to carry out the king's mandates. But their land was not held by virtue of strictly defined services, and their noble status was not derived from their tenure. Their service in war derived from their status rather than their land. They might receive from their land the renders due from it to the king, and they were expected to stand surety for their dependants and be responsible for their good behaviour. But they did not (at this period, in any event) have delegated judicial and fiscal powers. These, at the local level, were in the hands of royal reeves who, besides presiding at lower courts, organized the renders to the king assessed on land.

The Wessex system of local administration differs in many respects from that, say, of Buganda, but presents some superficial similarities in, for example, the close connection between membership of the royal household and territorial office. In both, estates are granted to maintain office-holders and to reward courtiers. In neither is tenure of landed property the basis both of permanent social status or of particular political allegiance.

In Wessex, and elsewhere in pre-feudal Europe, various forms of clientship existed, but the personal relationship of lord and man

was not expressed in a transfer of land. The Wessex king's or lord's commended men were bound to him by solemn oath and were legally under his protection. It is difficult to find in the Bito-ruled states any close counterparts to vassalage or personal commendation. In Buganda, the payment made to the king's messenger by a chief and his dependants on installation is distinct from his compulsory attendance at royal levées. One confirms his office and the other is essential for its retention. These, and the Nyoro and Toro milk-drinking ceremonies, seem to be expressions of allegiance and subordination rather than expressions of fealty. Hima and Tusi forms of clientship secured by cattle have much closer affinities to some pre-feudal forms of free clientship, and if they resemble vassalage it is in their reciprocal nature, the possibility of diffidation and the heritability of the relationship: their correspondences with the early Irish form of cattle-clientage, *celsine*, are oddly close. But in the Bito-ruled states there is no institution resembling true clientage, of the type found in the Nupe kingdom and described by Nadel, for example. The peasant dependants of a Ganda chief owed him labour services and food by virtue of his office. Although their attendance at his courts and their gifts were made in expectation of returns—meat-feasts, minor offices and protection—their dependence on him was not permanent, nor did it alter their status. A successful chief was followed by dependants from office to office, and his prestige depended on the number he could attract; but they were neither vassals nor serfs.

The method of organizing agricultural production most frequently found in association with Western feudal political institutions—the system commonly designated by English and American historians as seignorial—has not emerged as a criterion for feudalism. It can be briefly described as a method of estate management which ensured the cultivation of a lord's demesne by the corvée labour of unfree tenants, the allotment of land to peasants for their livelihood, and the appropriation of part of their product by the landlord. But corvée labour and serfdom are not specific to feudalism: they preceded and outlasted it in Europe and are found in societies organized on other principles. Before the introduction of cash crops in Buganda the labour services owed to chiefs were not, it would seem, consciously exploited, for obvious economic reasons: the exchange value of agricultural surpluses was limited. The chief's portions were not strictly manorial estates, and his 'demesne' plantations were cultivated by his wives and slaves.

The labour services owed were in the nature of public works rather than cultivation. The gifts of food and beer, chickens and goats, he received from peasants were not prescribed rents for cultivation plots; the peasants, moreover, were free to move.

To sum up: there are some analogies to be found between methods of securing services and appropriating resources to governments in pre-feudal Europe and the Interlacustrine area. There are even some similarities in administrative devices. Indeed, it is something of a paradox that institutions described by anthropologists as 'feudal' in East Africa resemble most nearly those mistakenly described by historians as 'tribal' in Europe. Customary special services to royal households are owed by territorial groups in pre-feudal Celtic kingdoms; hereditary household offices are held by their heads, who may also play a part in installation ceremonies; youths are sent to court for military training and to serve the king. But to point to analogies of this kind is only to say that at certain levels of economic and technical development the options open to government are limited, and that no convenient terminology has been devised to describe either the political institutions found in many Bantu states characterized by dynastic monarchy and delegated territorial administration exercised by beneficed royal favourites, or for that matter those found in pre-feudal Wales, Scotland and Ireland.

Historians, in their capacity as biographers of institutions, are disinclined to use terminologies derived from one culture and period to describe institutions in others. As I hope I have shown, analogies often do as much violence to the example as to the parallel. 'Feudalism', half a millennium of it, has to be caricatured to be contrasted with other ways of ordering political relations. Interlacustrine Bantu institutions must be deprived of their personality if they are to be presented divorced from the sentiments which surround them. But perhaps the analogies and contrasts will have served some purpose if it can be established that the Interlacustrine kingdoms and the states of feudal Europe differ remarkably from one another in political structure and that estates granted to office-holders to maintain or reward them are not fiefs, but office lands.

The imprudent use of historical analogies may have some heuristic value. In 1829 Tod described the institutions of the Rajput states in terms derived from Hallam's pioneer description of the feudal system, published in 1818; the description was later rejected

by Maine's friend, Lyall, who emphasized the role, in Rajput political systems, of descent-groups and blood-ties. Crooke, in his introduction to the 1920 edition of Tod's *Annals* wrote: 'These analogies [with feudal incidents] when more closely examined, are found in the main to be superficial. If we desire to undertake a comparative study of the Rajput system, it is unnecessary to travel to medieval Europe, while we have close at hand the social analogies of more or less kindred tribes on the Indian borderland. . . .' The intensive comparison of tribes or states which we know to be culturally or linguistically similar will certainly yield more information than the generalized comparison of types: it has been proposed in recent years by several anthropologists. But the purpose of the historical analogies implicitly made in the course of this book by several authors is not the testing of theories about relationships between political forms and other factors, or indeed the comparison between forms of state, though this would be justified. It is primarily to secure convenient descriptions as a prelude to comparison. Analogies of this sort are the kitchen-kaffir of the seminar from whence better descriptions, in a more acceptable lingua franca, may emerge.

A distinction needs to be made between analogies, made only to be discarded later or for convenience of description, and the pursuit of historical uniformities. A recent conference of historians, anthropologists, sociologists, orientalists and philosophers at Princeton University concluded, with Voltaire, that: 'Enough repetition of larger political and social conditions has been found to warrant the tentative extension of the idea of feudalism from the history of Europe to that of other societies. . . .'[1] Indeed, frequent correspondences between feudal institutions and institutions to be found in Japan, Muscovy, Georgia, Chou China, Mughal India and in the ancient world make the implied question worth asking. But the pursuit of historical uniformities is not encouraged by the majority of historians *de métier* for good reasons. The definition of criteria applicable to dynamic social forms seems in practice to lead to too many linked hypotheses for comfort. Even sociologists, such as Max Weber, who opined that the feudal structure of domination had been 'universally diffused throughout history' considered that formal principles alone could not be used to distinguish or classify

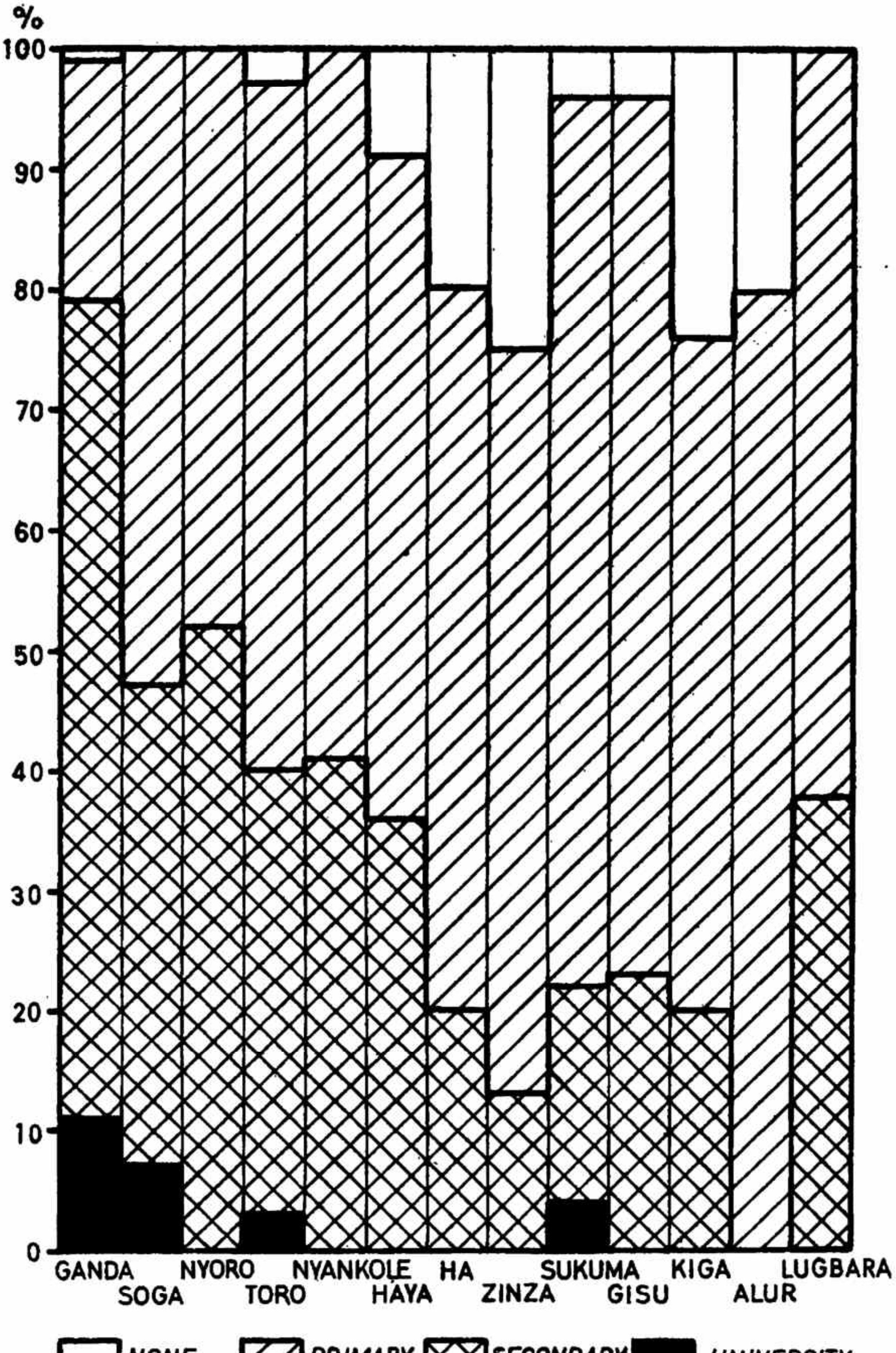
[1] *Feudalism in History*, ed. Rushton Coulborn, 1956, p. 11. I have made great use of the articles by J. R. Strayer, Daniel Thorner, and E. H. Kantorowicz in this symposium.

examples of it. Comparisons made by sociologically-minded historians and historically-minded sociologists such as those made by M. Bloch and Karl Wittfogel between European and Japanese institutions indicate the extent to which similar tasks can evoke similar responses. The specifically feudal features of vassalage, fief and conditional service are found in both, but their subsequent development argues significant differences which emerge as soon as the focus of comparison is shifted or enlarged. 'Larger political and social conditions' may seem to recur, but the further examination of them has hitherto shown that generalizations of this order involve the sacrifice of historical reality. Professor Postan still has the last word: '. . . we must insist that the penalty of being sufficiently concrete to be real is the impossibility of being sufficiently abstract to be exact.'[1]

The kind of questions which particularly concern historians have, for sound professional reasons, been hitherto rather neglected by modern anthropologists: they are not, by and large, susceptible to the method of functional analysis. Economic historians have attempted to estimate what proportion of the agrarian product was, at given times and in given places, appropriated to the support of rulers. Medievalists have tried to trace connections between changes in tenures and innovations in military techniques. Questions of this kind may not be answerable in preliterate societies, but they may suggest related questions. The material in this book, and other material published by scholars associated with the East African Institute of Social Research suggests, for example, that changes in offices and lands associated with them will interest some historians of East Africa. They will have to work with and use the materials provided by anthropologists if they are not themselves equipped to use their skills—to learn vernaculars and provide their own documentation by observation and enquiry in the field. Fortunately the ways and means for this collaboration exist in Kampala. But only confusion can result from the assumption that historians can corroborate their findings by reference to the social sciences. The methods of history and sociology are distinct, but ethnography ministers to both.

[1] M. M. Postan. *The Historical Method in Social Science*, 1939, p. 33.

(Cumulative Diagram)



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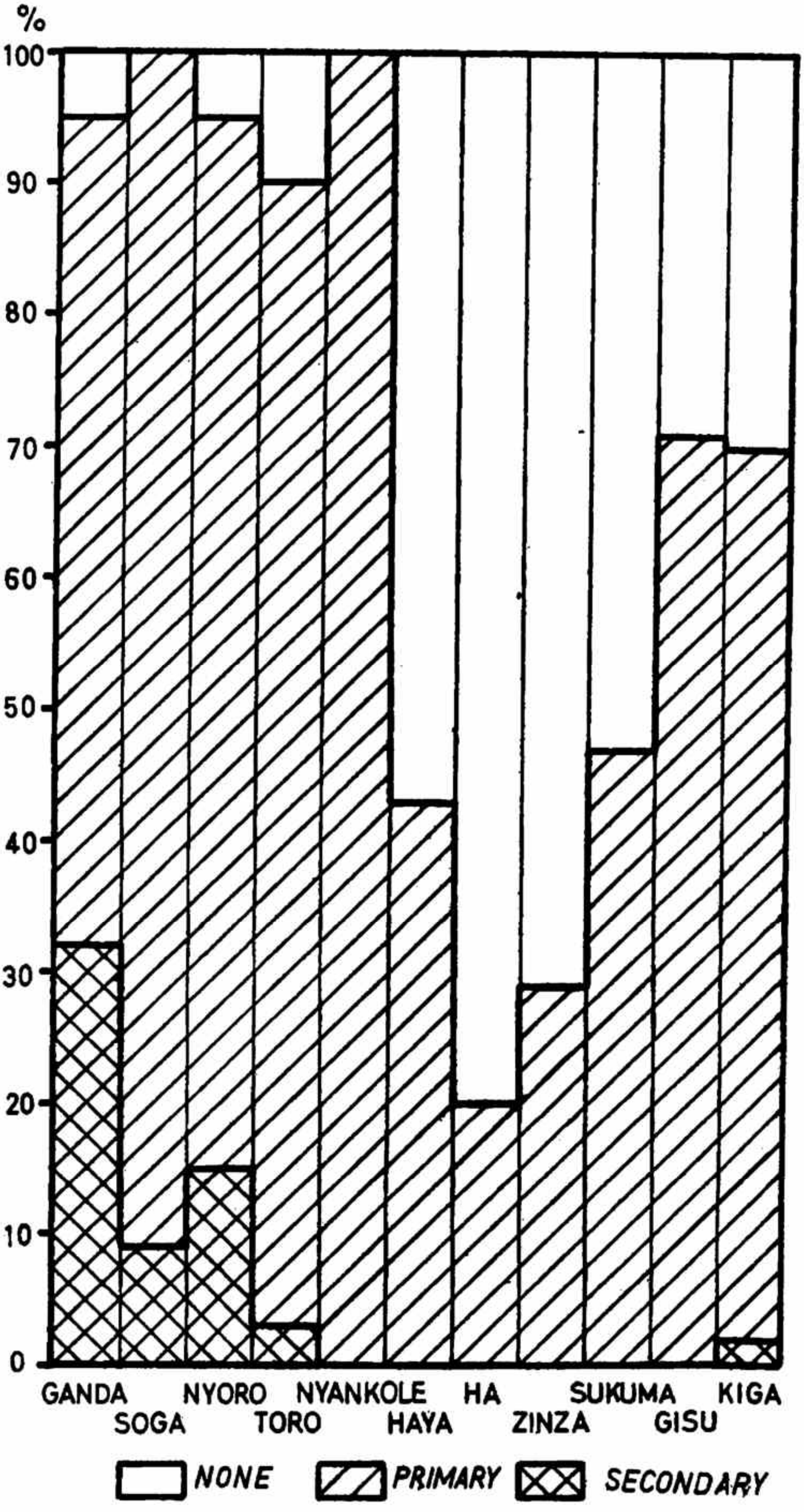
(Educational standard of Class I and II chiefs)

(Cumulative Diagram)



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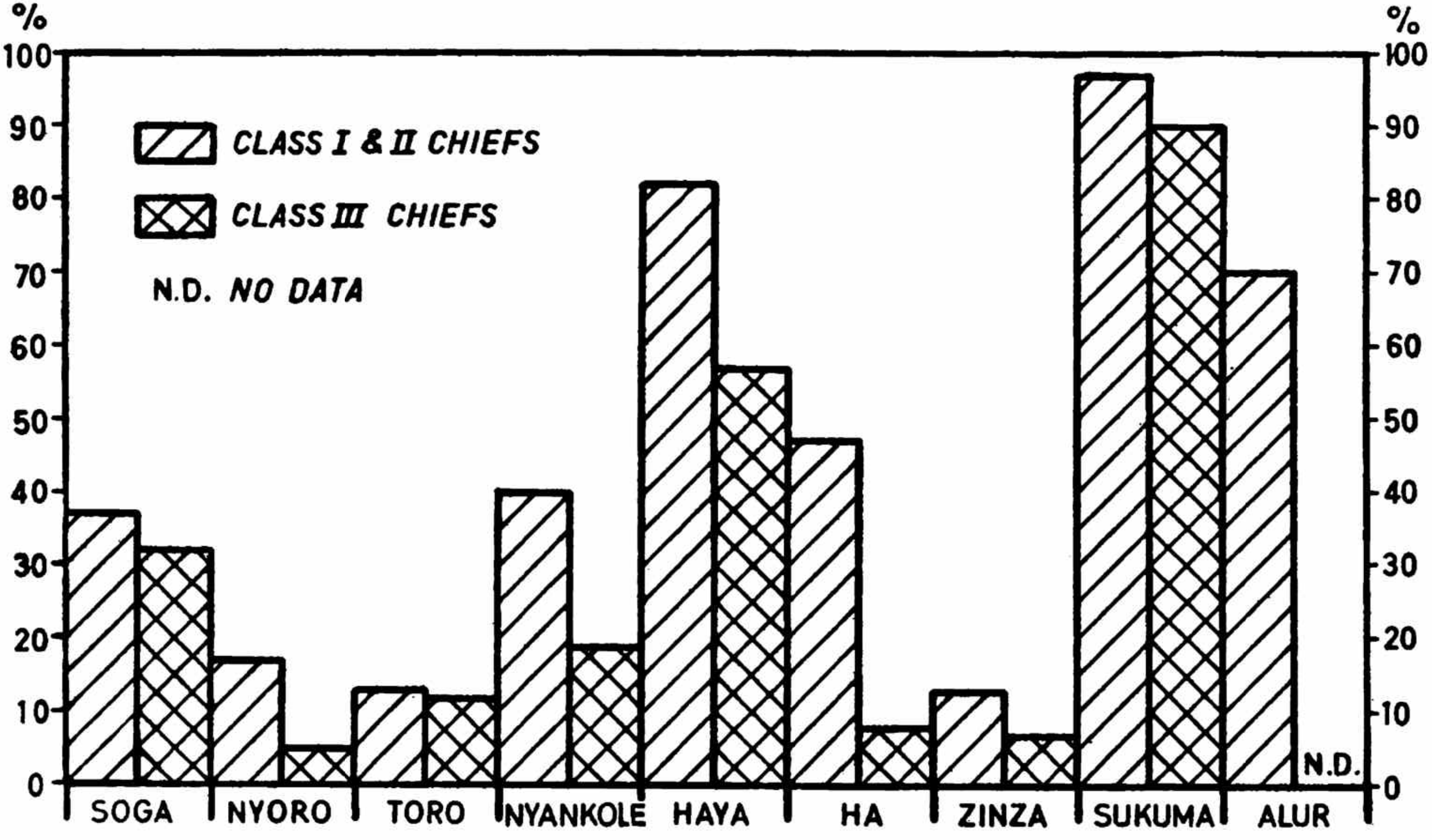
Educational standard of class III chiefs



Percentage of chiefs from traditional royal clans

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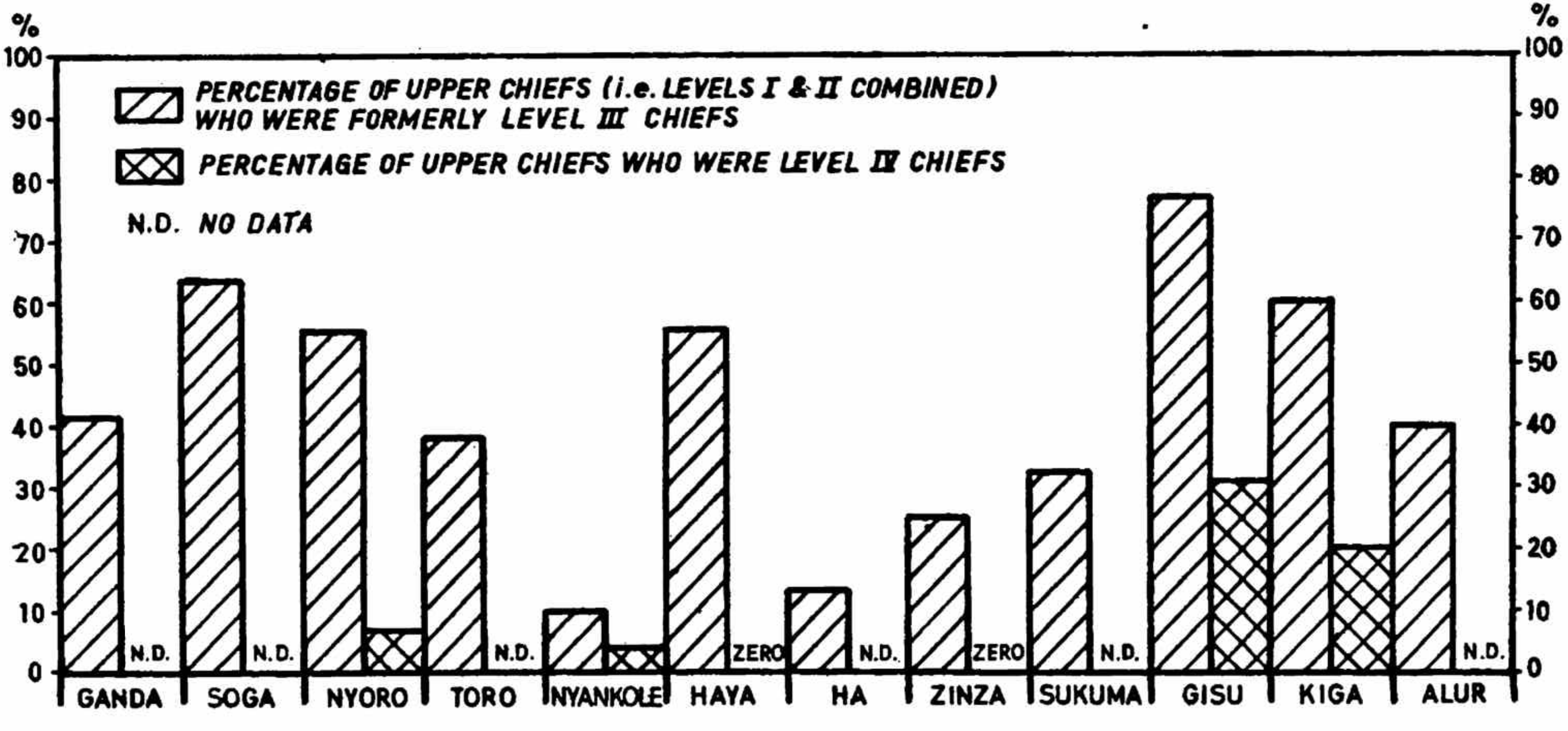

Percentage of chiefs promoted from lower levels

L. G. Warren

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Abbreviations: *I.A.I.* International African Institute
J.A.A. *Journal of African Administration*
J.R.A.I. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*
T.N.R. *Tanganyika Notes and Records*
U.J. *Uganda Journal*

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